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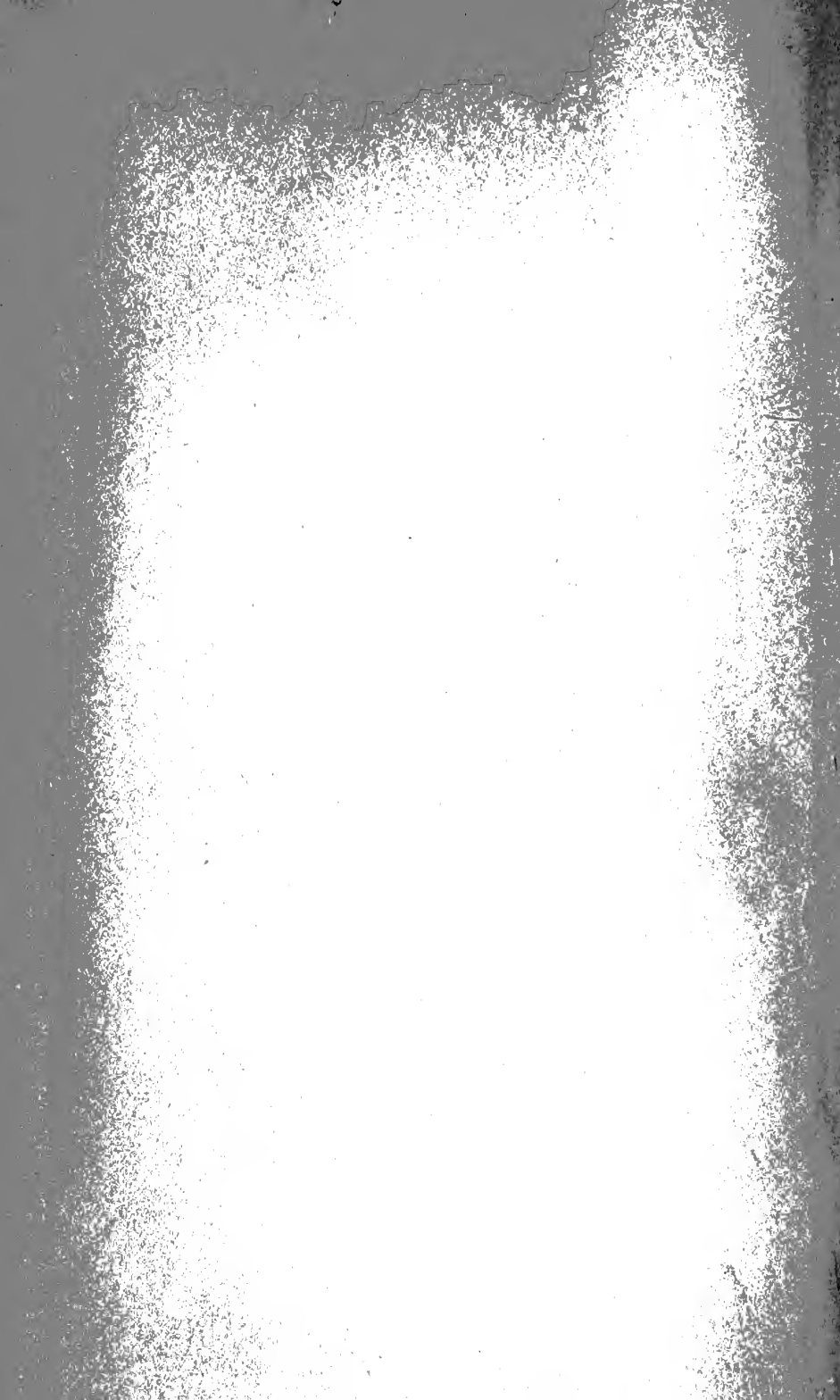
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, AND A
LIFE OF PLUTARCH,

BY

JOHN AND WILLIAM LANGHORNE.

A NEW EDITION, WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.



IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers, these married while their parents were living, and they all ate at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It seems the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus wanting to have at an under-price, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal: and he never let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that one vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was so much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed three hundred

talents. But, during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread corn to each citizen for three months, he found upon an exact computation, that he was master of seven thousand, one hundred talents. The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together.* In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price,

* The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burned the city.

by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence in time he became master of great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived. For he used to say, "That those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying, no man ought to be esteemed rich, who could not with his own revenue maintain an army. For, as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour. Nor consequently can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers at the rate of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged, that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, his rigour in demanding his money the very

day it was due, often made his apparent favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there was a neatness and unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expensive tables.

As to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particular that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though he might be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded those whom nature had favoured more. For there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey and Caesar and Cicero refused to speak, he often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to assist any unfortunate citizen was a very popular thing; and his obliging manners in his common address had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.

His knowledge of history is also said to have been extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander;* a man who gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition, during his acquaintance with Crassus. For it is not easy to say whether his poverty was greater when he entered, or when he left his house. He was the only friend that Crassus would take with him into the country; on which occasions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly, if we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent.† But this was a

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is called Polyhistor and Cornelius; and who is said to have flourished in the times of Sylla.

† Aristotle's, as well as Plato's philosophy, reckoned riches among real blessings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

later circumstance in the life of Crassus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who was then a very young man, escaped the present danger. But, as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his prætorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public. Instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Pacianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there. From thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in person, but sent immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suit of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which daylight is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air is pure and clear; the foggy and moist

part of it being carried away with the stream.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be had to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought, looked more like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid servants, and walked towards the sea. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus, seeing them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, "That they were come to seek their master who lay concealed there." Upon which, he perceived, it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says,* he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he selected a corps of two thousand five hundred men. With these he visited the cities; and most historians agree, that he pillaged one called Malacca. But others tell us, he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread

* Fenestella wrote several books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was seventy years of age.

the report After this he collected vessels, and passed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men he had about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he despatched to levy troops among the Marsi; and as his passage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I give thee for guards," said he, in an angry tone, "I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers."

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy; raised a considerable army, and showed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had this great disadvantage besides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with such lustre on those occasions, that Sylla treated him with more respect than he generally showed much older men, or even those of his own rank. For he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him as *Imperator*.

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides, his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and it was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Meantime,

Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But in the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit he had gained; buying great estates at an under-price, and often begging such as he had cast his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet no man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man was more averse to, or more severe against such as resembled him.* But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his employments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming;" upon which he asked, with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was absent and† distinguishing himself in the field. When present, Crassus often carried his point against him. This must be imputed to the state and grandeur that he affected: he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies

* It was observed by the late ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that a coxcomb will be the first to find out and expose a coxcomb. Men of the same virtues love each other for the sake of those virtues; but sympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

† This was not peculiar to Pompey; it was the case of Marius and many others.

of the people; and he very rarely served those who made application to him; imagining by that means he should have his interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them; he constantly made his appearance; he was easy of access; his life was spent in business and good offices; so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and state.

As to dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the same. But the emulation with which Crassus was actuated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in greater honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition: though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates, in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure will it give thee to hear that I am taken!" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendship; and when Cæsar was going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For, as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and the enterprising gave into the prospects of Cæsar; Crassus steered a middle course, and availed himself of both. Crassus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently when his interest required it; insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Licinius, who was

very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "He wears wisps upon his horns.*" So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this: one Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians: men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators' arms to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders.† The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Thracian *hordes* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian, in his manner.

It is said when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy.‡ This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

* This passed into a proverb.

† Spartacus, Chrisus, and Oenomaus. This war began in the year of Rome 680, before Christ 71.

‡ His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua; whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor* was then sent against them from Rome, with a body of three thousand men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms; and when he had done that, he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of great vigour, and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitring parties and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The next general sent against these gladiators was Publius Varinus. They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thousand men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took *is lictors* and the very horse he rode.

* Clodius Glaber

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless his views were moderate: he had too much understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans, and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gelius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus, with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of ten thousand men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from personal regard. He went and posted himself in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however upon the first promising

occasion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they were now entrusted with. The first five hundred, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had been long disused. Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy, and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where, at the head of two thousand men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered,* and which wanted but little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into an agreement with him; but they had no sooner taken his money than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and intrenched himself in the Peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the Isthmus. This he knew would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off his enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult: nevertheless he finished it beyond all expectation, in a short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth and as many in depth; he built a wall

also above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking. But when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials; and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped on the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner, as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Crassus now repented of having written to the senate, *that it was necessary to recall Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain*; and hastened to finish the war himself. For he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all the honour. He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to sieze an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them. and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were

* It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

only two found wounded in the back ; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired to the mountains of Petchia ; and Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scrophia, the quæstor, marched after, to harass his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers ; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition, to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching ; and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would by some decisive stroke, put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day, when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants ; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying at the same time, "If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command ; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He however still stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which Fortune favoured him : he per-

formed every act of generalship ; he exposed his person in the boldest manner ; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle ; but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots."

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater triumph ; and even the less, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves. In what respect this differs from the other, and whence the term *ovation* is derived, we have considered in the Life of Marcellus.

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship ; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same honour, yet he scrupled not to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure ; for he was desirous, by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He, therefore, readily espoused his cause ; and, at last, when he made his speech to the people, said "he was as much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him as for their favour to himself." However, the same good understanding did not long continue ; they differed in almost every article that came before them ; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing any thing considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision, that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and

commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you are not to suffer the consuls to lay down their office before they are reconciled." He had no sooner ended his speech, than the people insisted they should be reconciled.—Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand. "I am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you have distinguished with the name of *Great*, while he was but a beardless youth, and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the consulate of Crassus. As for his censorship, it passed without any thing worth mentioning.* He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the best natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said, that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference, in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

When the great conspiracy of Catiline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conspirators; but no one gave credit to his information.† It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuses

* He was censor six years after his consulship, sixty-three years before the birth of Christ.

† Sallust says otherwise. He tells us it did appear incredible to some, but others believed it. Yet not thinking it advisable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers, and those who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in saying the senate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus himself among the rest, the informer was suborned by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger? And what could Crassus propose to himself in entering into a

both Crassus and Caesar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public till both those great men were dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hands, which shewed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero, and would have shewn it in some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him: hence his attachment to Cicero was so great, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last, he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time, Cæsar returned from his government to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them. For which purpose he represented, "That by leveling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos: who would be nothing, if they were once real friends, and took care to act in concert. If that were the case," said he, "with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you."

These representations had their effect; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union; but Cæsar by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had in his being unanimously elected consul. And as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him

plot to burn a city in which his property was so large?

the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established, as in an impregnable castle. For they imagined, if they did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice now added a new one. The achievements, the victories, the triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never let himself rest till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose, Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their schemes into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius* asked Pompey in full senate "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation, "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—If not, I shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and

among the rest Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato, "Not to abandon his prospects, but to stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for Pompey and Crassus, he said, they wanted not the consulship, but absolute power; nor was it so much their aim to be chief magistrates at home, as to sieze the provinces, and to divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have we not many persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends; killed the torch-bearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the rest. Then they shut them all up together till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to his house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæsar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They chose to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, as soon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life; inso-

* Domitius Ænobarbus.

much, that even before strangers and the populace he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the most sanguine hopes, and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition: for in general he was far from being pompous or inclined to vanity. But now, extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the eastern ocean, and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the east.

In the law relating to the government of Crassus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood; but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it. And Cæsar, in a letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to set out, Ateius, one of the tribunes threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not without indignation think of his going to begin hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him: and on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus, and to raise a clamour against him, yet when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him. But the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate and placed there a censor with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus, he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered the most horrid im-

precations, invoking at the same time certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient imprecations have such power* that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay, they add, that the person who uses them is sure to be unhappy; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundisium; and though the winter storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "You do not set out very early in the morning against the Parthians!" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age,† and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered at first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him; and one only stood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about a hundred men before it, Crassus marched against it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia.‡ Crassus, upon taking it, suffered his army to salute him *Imperator*; a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him: it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting any thing considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns

* —Dira detestatio

Nulla expiatur victimi.—Hon.

† Crassus set out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 699.

‡ Zenodotia, in the province of Osrohoëne.

that had submitted with seven thousand foot and a thousand horse, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his son, whom Cæsar had sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of a thousand select horse.

Among the many errors which Crassus committed in this war, the first, and none of the least was his returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were greatly censured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Instead of examining into the arms of his soldiers, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis.* And though he fixed the quotas of troops which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money; which exposed him to the contempt of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, some Juno, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of every thing that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsaces, and addressed him in this short speech: "If this army was sent against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcilable. But if Crassus, against the inclinations of his country (which they were informed was the case), to gratify his own avarice, has undertaken

this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rhodomontade: he said, "He would give them his answer at Seleucia." Upon which Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Crassus, here will hair grow before thou wilt see Seleucia."

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes,† and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They said, they had been eye witnesses to their immense numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, as it is usual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impossible either to escape them when they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and strange sort of arrows, which are swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can see they are discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effects than swift in their course. The offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through every thing, and the defensive arms are so well tempered that nothing can pierce them."

The Romans were struck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never stand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to

† Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Praates the second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death

* About twenty miles from the Euphrates there was a city known by the several names of Bambyce, Edessa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddess Atargatis was worshipped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richest in the world.

look in the face, which they had not thought of: insomuch that several of the principal officers were of opinion that Crassus ought to stop, and call a council to consider whether new measures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Cassius the quaestor. Besides, the soothsayers whispered, that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes,* king of Armenia. That prince came with six thousand horse, which he said were only his body guard. He promised Crassus ten thousand more, armed at all points, and thirty thousand foot, all to be maintained at his own expense. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with; but your march will be safe, as it will lie along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and his noble offer of succours but coldly; and said, "He should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's war horses, richly caparisoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened that when the

soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentils and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech of Crassus to the army, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said, "He had broke down the bridge, that not one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the sacrifice offered for the lustration of the army, the *arusper* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the ceremony were struck with astonishment; but he only said with a smile, "See what it is to be old! My sword, however, shall not slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the side of the Euphrates, with seven legions, near four thousand horse, and almost as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before some of his scouts returned, and told him, they had not found so much as one man in their excursions; but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been pursued.

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius addressed himself to the general again, and advised him, "To secure his troops in some fortified town, till he should have some account of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose that, he desired him to keep along the river till he reached Seleucia: for by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions from vessels that would follow his camp; and the river preventing his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power to fight upon equal terms."

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes.† This artful and perfidious

* In the text he is here called Artabases; but, as Plutarch calls him Artavasdes every where afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

† Appian and Dion Cassius call him Accarus or Agbarus.

man was the principal instrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Crassus. Some of his officers who had served under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now, gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immense plain where he might easily be surrounded. For the enemy thought of nothing less than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful speaker. Then he expressed his admiration of so fine an army, but withal took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people, who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects, with their families and friends to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or suppose you have to fight," said he, "you ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king recover his spirits, and collect all his forces. At present he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of himself. For his part, he will take care not to appear in the field."

This story was false in every circumstance. For Orodes had divided his army into two parts; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreak his vengeance upon Artavasdes; Surena was left with the other to make head against the Romans. Not that the king (as some will have it) had any contempt for the Romans: for Crassus, one of the most powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagonist whom he should despise, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehension of danger which made him keep at a distance and watch the rising event; in order to which he sent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's strength and to amuse

them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person; but in fortune, family, and honour, the first after the king; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the country, he had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines. He was attended by a thousand heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than ten thousand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family to put the diadem upon the king's head, when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first to scale the wall, and beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a too sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was smooth and easy at first; but after awhile it became extremely difficult, by reason of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment. So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect they were betrayed; but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, "That Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could

send the Romans no succours. Therefore he advised them to march towards Armenia, where with their united forces they might give Orodes battle. If Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp upon any ground favourable to the cavalry, but to keep close to the mountains." Crassus in his resentment and infatuation would send no answer in writing; he only said, "He was not at leisure now to think of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness." Cassius was extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonstrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these, "O thou vilest of impostors, what malevolent dæmon has brought thee amongst us? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army into this vast, this amazing desert; a march more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them, "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through Campania? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you met with there? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture was discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said, that Crassus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one; and when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards too were so rooted in the ground, that they could

not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At first, agreeably to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balissus, which in itself was not considerable, but the sight of it gave great pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, to advance against them at break of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable

as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and, to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and it was from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed, that of all the senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breastplates and helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre no less striking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage as he was possessed of. For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in great disorder, like the Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.

At first, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through their foremost ranks; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning

of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and strength of the arrows, against which no armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance; not needing to take an exact aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows were large and strong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they went with was consequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through; if they advanced they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience. But as soon as it was perceived, that behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were supplied, Crassus seeing no end to his sufferings, was greatly distressed. The step he took was to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded; for it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took thirteen hundred horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made a thousand, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, wheeled about, to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came against them in such good order, which some say was the case; or whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as far as they possibly could from his

father, turned their backs and fled.* The young man cried out, *They dare not stand us*, and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus;† the latter a man noted for his strength and courage, and the former a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spirit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were not left behind: for they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in such a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a fair mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows sticking in them, and before they died, endeavoured to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews; an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Publius‡ desired

* It was their common method, not to stand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

† It is not easy to say what Roman name Megabacchus could be the corruption of. Xylander tells us he found in an old translation "*Cnei. Plancus*." Probably that translator might have the authority of some manuscript.

‡ Young Crassus.

them to attack the heavy armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and short javelins to attempt the Parthian cuirasses, which were made either of raw hides or steel; while the enemy's strong pikes could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They laid hold of the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their own armour. Many of them quitted their own horses, and getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It happened, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost rank afforded some shelter to those behind; but upon an eminence, the unevenness of the ground showed one above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape: they fell promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and

Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of Carræ. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, "There was no death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave so many brave men dying for his sake." At the same time he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his own hand was transfixed by an arrow, and he could not use it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. As for Megabacchus, he despatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above five hundred prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were in this posture. After he had ordered his son to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble; for the greatest part of them were gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger; but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son was lost if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions, that he could not form any rational scheme. On the one hand, he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his son; but at last he resolved to march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums bellowing again in the

ears of the Romans, gave the notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius upon a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant a youth should be the son of Crassus, the greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the world."

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor which ran through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on this melancholy occasion behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever shewn before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and glory of Rome stand safe and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who am bereaved of the best of sons, show it in your resentment against the enemy. Put an end to their triumph; avenge their cruelty. Be not astonished at this loss; they must always have something to suffer who aspire to great things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. Our ancestors lost a thousand ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy; but no previous loss prevented their subduing the conquerors. For it was not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity, that Rome has risen to her present height of power."

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many listen to him with pleasure. He was sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle; for their shout was feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and strong.—When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry, taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy-armed, charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow space. Some indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution

of despair, but did not much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were speedily despatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.*

The fight continued in this manner all day; and when the barbarians came to retire, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to bewail his son; if he did not in the mean time consider better, and rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces, than be carried." Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of whom were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection too, against retiring, in the wounded; who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him the cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them. But he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground. A sad example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune; and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest among many millions of men, he had considered himself in a mean light, because there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then, by their own authority, summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fighting at this day.

which it was resolved they should retire. Accordingly they began to do so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first. But when the sick and wounded perceived they were going to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies. They often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order, or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others on. By these things they lost a great deal of time; insomuch, that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with three hundred horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Caponius who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma: by which means he saved himself and his troop; but, at the same time, was much blamed for deserting his general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Caponius.—That officer considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as soon as he was apprized that Crassus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those that were left in the camp, and despatched them, to the number of four thousand. The cavalry also picked up many others who were straggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Vargun-tinus, who had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. The barbarians surrounded their little corps, and killed them all except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who, let them pass, and they arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Crassus with the best of his officers and troops had escaped, and those who had retired into Carræ, were only a mixed multitude not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory; but not being absolutely certain, he wanted better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, or pursue Crassus, wherever he might have fled. For this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made known to Crassus he accepted the proposal. And not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who knew Crassus and Cassius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready to conclude a peace with them on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia: for he thought this more advantageous to both than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themselves so imposed upon, told Crassus, he must give up his distant and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment it was put in execution. But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious among them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to

fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any further. As for Cassius, he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am more afraid of the Sagittary." Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with five hundred horse. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about five thousand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

Meantime day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering on bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty; but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could do was to retire to a hill, not so secure against cavalry, as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields, boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow should touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Par

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

thians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners, after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manoeuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said, "the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show his moderation and clemency in coming to terms with the Romans, and suffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with great joy. But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance, did not accept the overture, but stood deliberating. Hereupon, the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expose them to the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet them himself, when they had laid down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference."

At first he had recourse to entreaties, and represented, that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged them not to forego the hopes of safety when they had it so near. But when he found they received his address with anger, and clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go: only turning round a moment to speak these few words, "You, Octavius, and you, Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to take this step, and conscious of the

dishonour and violence I suffer. But, when you are safe, pray tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would not stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They dismounted and made Crassus a low reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surena and his company came unarmed, and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That if his life had been of any account with him, he should not have trusted himself in their hands." Nevertheless, he sent two brothers of the name of Roscius before him, to inquire upon what footing, and how many of each side were to meet. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," said he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when we are on horseback?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There was no error on either side, since each came to treat after the manner of his country." "Then," said Surena, "from this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates: for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him, "There was no need; the king would supply him with one." At the same time a horse was brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted Crassus, began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind Octavius

despatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breastplate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres;* though some say another despatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed all these circumstances must be rather from conjecture than knowledge. For part of those who attended were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill on the first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to the troops at the top. They told them Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved; but as for them, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise some went down and surrendered themselves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the sword. It is said, that in all there were twenty thousand killed, and ten thousand made prisoners.

Surena sent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithstanding which he ordered his messengers to give it out at Seleucia, that he was bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock procession, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who of all the prisoners, most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe in the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus, and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.

These things were to amuse the populace. But after the farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides, called *Milesiaks*. Nor was

this a groundless invention to blacken the Romans. For the books being really found in the baggage of Rustius,† gave Surena an excellent opportunity to say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This scene put the Seleucians in mind of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw Surena had put the Milesian obscenities in the fore part of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian sybaris,‡ with a long train of carriages full of harlots; inasmuch that his army resembled the serpents called *seytalæ*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war horses; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and riot with those women. Rustius undoubtedly was to blame; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the *Milesiaks*, when many of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes, the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister and his son Pacorus. On this occasion they freely went to each other's entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were represented. For Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, and the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expressing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment prostrated himself before the king, and laid the head of Crassus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jason gave one of

† One of the Bodleian manuscripts has it Roscius.

‡ Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

* Appian calls him Maxæthres, and in some copies of Plutarch he is called Axathres.

the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air, and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part, where Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her Thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion—

Well are all our toils repaid : On yonder mountain

We pierced the lordly savage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on—

The *Chorus* asks, “Who gave the glorious blow?”

Agave answers, “Mine, mine is the prize.”

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual on such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the *exodium*,* or farce after it.

However, the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after. And that prince, having lost his son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder, which turned to a dropsy. His second son Phraates took the op-

* *Exodium*, in its original sense, signified the unravelling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

portunity to give him aconite. But finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands.†

† There have been more execrable characters, but there is not, perhaps, in the history of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered sprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east: they were nothing more than the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman squadrons standing, by his disposition, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or the defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so much dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those countries which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of eastern treasure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians, and to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of thirty thousand Romans.

NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED.

ONE of the first things that occurs in this comparison is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a less exceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines, indeed, does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their

being.—But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when put in parallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things as he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters which he was censured for, and which he denied, namely, his making money of his vote in the senate, his ex-

torting it from the allies, his overreaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men; nothing like these things was ever imputed by slander herself to Nicias. As to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule; and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Aristides; but necessary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus the orator afterwards made a merit of to the people: when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, "I rejoice," said he, "that after being so long employed in the administration, I am discovered to have given money, and not taken it."

As to their expenses, Nicias appears to have been more public spirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed, his whole estate, amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once, in entertaining so many myriads of men, and supplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very strange to me, if there should be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconsistency of character; particularly when he sees men laying out that money in an honourable manner, which they got dishonourably. So much with regard to their riches.

If we consider their behaviour in the administration, we shall not find in Nicias any instance of cunning, injustice, violence, or effrontery. On the contrary, he suffered Alcibiades to impose upon him, and he was modest or rather timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Crassus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again if his interest required it, is justly accused of an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he used violence to attain the consulship, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the assembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded, and four citizens killed. Nay, Crassus himself struck a senator, named Lucius Anna-

lius, who opposed his measures, upon the face with his fist (a circumstance which escaped us in his Life), and drove him out of the *forum* covered with blood.

But if Crassus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean submission to the most abandoned persons in the state deserve the greatest reproach. Besides, Crassus showed some magnanimity and dignity of sentiment, in contending, not with such wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæsar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the dispute well with them for power, and in the high honour of the censorship he was even beyond Pompey. For he who wants to stand at the helm, should not consider what may expose him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may by its lustre force envy to speak behind. But if security and repose are to be consulted above all things; if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the *rostrum* of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then surely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourself the soft crown of tranquillity; as some of the philosophers express it. The love Nicias had for peace was, indeed a divine attachment, and his endeavours, during his whole administration, to put an end to the war were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in so honourable a light, that Crassus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caspian sea or the Indian ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheless, in a commonwealth, which retains any sentiments of virtue, he who has the lead should not give place for a moment to persons of no principle; he should intrust no charge with those who want capacity, nor place any confidence in those who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raising Cleo to the command of the army, a man who had nothing to recommend him but his impudence and his bawling in the *rostrum*. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for advancing to action in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence: though

his ambition had this excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very absurd and mean spirited. He would not give up to his enemy the honour and trust of commander in chief while he could execute that charge with ease, and had good hopes of success; but as soon as he saw it attended with great danger, he was willing to secure himself, though he exposed the public by it. It was not thus Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him by a sum of money to give up his pretensions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship, when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only to go against Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians; but if there was occasion to fight with the Lacedæmonians, he put off his armour, and intrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short, the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon, in which he was not only unjust to himself and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians send him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease and a want of spirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually against war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it as the ablest and best general they had. But Crassus, though he was for ever aiming at such a charge, never gained one except in the war with the gladiators; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus's were absent. This is the more remarkable, because Crassus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But it seems, his

best friends thought him (as the comic poet expresses it)

In all trades skill'd, except the trade of war.

However this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them rest, till they assigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias against his inclination; and it was against the inclination of the Romans that Crassus led them out. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect, it is easier to commend Nicias than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former as a general kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the first that Sicily could not be conquered: the latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an easy undertaking. In this he found himself sadly deceived; yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the west, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian ocean on the east, and to conquer all Asia; things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached both as to moderation and probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was opposed by the senate when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato voted that he should be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods, for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, if Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For, according to Euripides, if justice must be violated, and mer cannot sit down quiet and contented

with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende; nor yet for going in chase of the fugitive Eginitæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country: the price of injustice should be high: so sacred a thing as right should not be invaded for a trifling consideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, several of Nicias's are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuse. Nor were all his miscarriages so many errors; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus committed so many errors that Fortune had no opportunity to show him any favour, wherefore we need not so much wonder, that the Parthian

power got the better of his incapacity as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both perished alike, it is hard to say whether the observation of omens is a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing, than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

Crassus, however, was not so reproachable in his exit. He did not surrender himself, or submit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes; but in yielding to the instances of his friends he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injustice of the barbarians. Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondness for life, put himself in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baser and more dishonourable end.



SERTORIUS.

It is not at all astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a course of numberless ages, happens often to hit upon the same point, and to produce events perfectly similar. For, if the number of events be infinite, Fortune may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter: if their number be limited, there must necessarily be a return of the same occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleasure in collecting those accidents and adventures they have met with in history or conversation, which have such a characteristical likeness, as to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there were two eminent persons of the name of Attis,* the one a Syrian the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which was

* Pausanias, in his *Achaïcs*, mentions one Attis or Attes, the son of Calaus the Phrygian, who introduced the worship of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds, that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields and slew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

torn in pieces by his dogs, and he other by his lovers.† Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was taken three times; the first time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horses, the second time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horse;‡ the third by Charidemus, a horse happening to stand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly as they should have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the most odoriferous plants, Iosy and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer is said to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these instances we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the most successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whose life we are

† Acteon, the son of Aristæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Acteon the son of Melissus, by the *Bacchiadæ*. See the Scholiast upon Apollonius, Book iv.

‡ These are all wooden instances of events being under the guidance of an intelligent being. Nay, they are such puerilities as Timæus himself scarce ever gave into.

§ Some suppose Ios to have been an island rather than a town. But if it was an island, there might be a town in it of the same name, which was often the case in the Greek islands.

now going to write. A man whose conduct, with respect to women, was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal; but, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell short of them all in success. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his most inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and a sojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general who, we think, most resembles him, is Eumenes of Cardia.* Both of them excelled in point of generalship: in all the art of stratagem as well as courage. Both were banished their own countries and commanded armies in others. And both had to contend with Fortune, who persecuted them so violently, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom on that account he always loved with the greatest tenderness. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice; and by his abilities that way gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself. But his greater talents for the camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

He made his first campaign under Cæpio,† when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds himself, yet he swam the river

Rhone, armed as he was with his breastplate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his strength of body, and so much had he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy came on a second time, with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose he took a Gaulish habit, and having learned as much of the language as might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to let him into the measures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour; and, during the whole war, he gave such proofs of his courage and capacity, as raised him to distinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as a legionary tribune, under Didius into Spain, and took up his winter quarters in Castulo,‡ a city of the Celtiberians. The soldiers, living in great plenty, behaved in an insolent and disorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians seeing this, held them in contempt; and one night having got assistance from their neighbours the Gyriscenians,§ they entered the houses where they were quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means to escape, sallied out, and collected all that he had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he marched round the town, and finding the gate open at which the Gyriscenians had been privately admitted, he entered; but took care not to commit the same error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of all the quarters of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside

* In the Thracian Chersonesus.

† In the printed text it is *Scipio*; but two manuscripts give us *Cæpio*. And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio, who, with the consul Cn. Mallius, was defeated by the Cimbri, in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-eighth Olympiad, a hundred and three years before the Christian era.

‡ A town of New Castile, on the confines of Andalusia.

§ The Gyriscenians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been conjectured that we should read *Orisians*. The *Orisians* were of that district. See Cellarius.

their own arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyræniensians. The people, deceived by the suits of armour and habits, they were acquainted with, opened their gates, and sallied forth, in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of success. The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces at the gates: the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quaestor in the Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very seasonable one; for the Marian war soon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that while effeminacy and supineness were spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said, others did not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and those who saw his misfortune, at the same time beheld his courage. The people, too, treated him with the highest respect. When he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations; an honour which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet when he stood for the office of tribune of the people, he lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cause of his perpetual enmity against Sylla. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was gone to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius, one of the consuls, remained in Sylla's interest; but Cinna, the other

consul, whose temper was restless and seditious, endeavoured to revive the sinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter; the rather because he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he distrusted the friends of Marius.

Some time after, a great battle was fought by the consuls in the *forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius having lost not much less than ten thousand men, were forced to fly. But as there was a number of troops scattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promises, and with that addition found themselves able to make head against Octavius again. At the same time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himself under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the consul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him; only Sertorius opposed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay so much attention to him, when he had a man of so much greater name, as a general in his army; or whether he feared, the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confusion again; as he indulged his resentments without any regard to justice or moderation whenever he had the advantage. He remonstrated, that as they were already superior to the enemy, they had not much left to do; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honour and the power at the same time, for he could not endure an associate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own interest was concerned.

Cinna answered, that the sentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was ashamed, and indeed knew not how to reject Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that case was most expedient for you to do: but, as he came upon your invitation, you should not have deliberated* a moment whether he was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honour leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

* Qui deliberant desciverunt. TACIT.

Cinna then sent for Marius; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over, Cinna and Marius gave into every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his revenge, nor committed any other outrage: on the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves, whom Marius had admitted his fellow soldiers, and afterwards employed as the guards of his tyranny,* were a strong and numerous body; and that partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating their children; he concluded, that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna which followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius, and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success. For some times the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when Sylla, encamped near Scipio, and amusing him with caresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops.—Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the event would be, but he never listened to him.

Then giving up Rome for lost, he retired with the utmost expedition into Spain: hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to such of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He

met with dreadful storms on his way and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians insisted that he should pay toll, and purchase his passage over them. Those that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an insufferable thing for a Roman proconsul to pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "Time was the thing he purchased, than which nothing in the world could be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts." He therefore satisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and passed over into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the same time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were ill disposed towards any Roman government whatever. To remove this aversion, he tried to gain the better sort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers was the most agreeable measure. For he ordered his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, and he set them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops; he provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such a number of ships, as kept the cities in awe: and though his address was mild and gentle in peace, he made himself formidable by his preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, he concluded that an army would soon be sent against him under the command of an able general. For this reason he sent Julius Salinator, with six thousand foot, to block up the passes of the Pyrenees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla; and seeing it impossible to dislodge Salinator, he sat down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, surnamed Lenarius, assassinated Salinator, and

* The *Barbarians*.

his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Anniius passed them, easily repulsing with his great army, the few that opposed them. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give battle, retired with three thousand men to New Carthage; where he embarked, and crossed over to Africa. The Maurusian coast was the land he touched upon; and his men going on shore there to water, and not being upon their guard, the barbarians fell upon them, and killed a considerable number: so that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coasts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make descent there; but having met with some vessels of Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and made his landing good in the Isle of Pitiusa,* forcing his way through the guards which Anniius had placed there.

Soon after Anniius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thousand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him; though his vessels were small, and made rather for swift sailing than strength. But a violent west wind springing up, raised such a storm, that the greatest part of Sertorius's ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven upon the rocky shore. Sertorius himself was prevented by the storm from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last escaped with great difficulty.

At length, the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he landed; but finding they were without water, he put to sea again, crossed the Straits of Gades, and keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large track to discharge itself into the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it passes.† There he found some mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Islands.‡ These are two in number, separated only by a narrow channel, and are at the distance of four hundred leagues§ from the African coast. They are

called the *Fortunate Islands*. Rain seldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately; but they generally have soft breezes, which scatter such rich dews, that the soil is not only good for sowing and planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent fruits, and those in such abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and their insensible transition into each other. For the north and east winds which blow from our continent, in the immense track they have to pass, are dissipated and lost: while the sea winds, that is, the south and west, bring with them from the ocean slight and gentle showers, but oftener only a refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly scatters plenty on their plains; so that it is generally believed, even among the barbarians, that these are the Elysian Fields and the seats of the blessed, which Homer has described in all the charms of verse.||

Sertorius hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire to fix himself in those islands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a distance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who wanted neither peace nor repose, but riches and spoils, no sooner perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himself up to despair, resolved to go and assist the people who were at war with Ascalis, in order to open to his troops another prospect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquishing him for want of support. His arrival was very acceptable to the *Moors*, and he soon beat Ascalis in a pitched battle: after which he besieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon, Sylla interposed, and sent Paccianus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted and took the city of Tingis,¶ whither

* Now *Ivica*. † *Bætica*, now *Andalusia*.

‡ The Canaries.

§ In the original, *ten thousand furlongs*.

|| *Odyss. IV.*

¶ In the text *Tingere*. Strabo tells us.

Ascalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city to which he gave his mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the son of Sophax, subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Olbians and Myceneans settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians, for he is said to have been a descendant of Sophax and Diodorus, the son and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no sort of harm to those who surrendered themselves, or placed a confidence in him. He restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government into their hands again: taking nothing but what they voluntarily offered him.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to invite him to take the command among them; for they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles; and he was the only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said to have been proof against the impressions both of pleasure and fear; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more prosperous fortune; in any great and sudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and when art and contrivance, as well as despatch, were necessary, for seizing a pass or securing a strong hold, one of the barbarians call it *Tinga*, that Artemidorus gives it the name of *Linga*, and Eratosthenes that of *Lirus*.

the greatest masters of stratagem in the world; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that the clemency he shewed before, was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to suit his occasions. I think, indeed, that the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, as to give place to the opposite vice. Yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly be soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured or betrayed him.

At present, having accepted the invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival he was invested with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least.* Spanus, a countryman who lived in those parts, happening to fall in with a hind which had newly yeaned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighbourhood; and whatever was brought to him taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this present like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary notice of it. But in time it became so tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went.

* Sertorius had learned these arts of Marius.

and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there was something sacred and mysterious in the affair; giving it out that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it discovered to him many important secrets. For he knew the natural power of superstition over the minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of his scheme, when the enemy was making a private eruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, on account of some news they would soon hear.

By this invention he made them so tractable that they obeyed his orders in every thing without hesitation, no longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger, but the immediate direction of heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond all they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion.—For, with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans, (though among them there were seven hundred Africans who came over with him) and an addition of four thousand light-armed Lusitanians and seven hundred horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though at first he had twenty cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals that opposed him, he beat Cotta at sea, in the Straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius* who had the chief command in Bætica, and

killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius, proconsul of the other Spain; he likewise slew Thoranius,† one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle and who, by the lightness and activity of the Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains or capacity to vie in flying and pursuing men as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat any thing undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now advanced in years, and after his many campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living: whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of spirits, and had brought strength and activity to the greatest perfection by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do; and he had accustomed himself to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while by mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he found no manner of difficulty in it; and if he had occasion to pursue or surround the enemy, he could execute it with ease

* Xylander has it *Didius*, which is agreeable to some manuscripts; Crusenius, upon conjecture only, reads it *Aufidius*. Frienshem, in his Supplement to Livy (xc. 23) calls this general *Furfidius*; and he might do it upon the authority of some ancient manuscript of Plutarch.

† Florus has it *Thorius*.

Hence it was that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as much by flying as he could have done by conquering and pursuing. For he cut his adversary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harass them; and if they sat still he galled them in such a manner that they were forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he was soon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were besieged the besiegers; in-somuch, that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given; insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right; for, as Theophrastus says, "A general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier."

He found that the *Langobritæ* were very serviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himself master of the springs in the suburbs and under the walls. He therefore advanced against the town; but concluding he should take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days provisions with them. But Sertorius gave the people speedy assistance. He got two thousand skins, and filled them with water, promising a good reward for the care of each vessel or skin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their service on this occasion; and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the mountains, with orders, when they delivered these vessels, to take all useless persons out of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for the rest during the whole course of the siege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and as his provisions began to fail, he sent out Aquilius with six thousand men to collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence

of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius, and upon his return, three thousand men, who were placed in the shady channel of a brook for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the rear. At the same time Sertorius himself, charged him in front, killed a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse and his arms; whereupon Metellus retired with disgrace, greatly insulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This success procured Sertorius the admiration and esteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed them still more was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he polished them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumstance was, that he furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields; and he taught them to wear embroidered vests, and magnificent coats; nor did he give them supplies only for these purposes, but he set them the example.* The finishing stroke was, his collecting, from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of *Osca*,† and his furnishing them with masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commissions; but in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great state to the schools, without any expense to them. For Sertorius took the whole upon himself, often examining besides into the improvements they made, and distributing proper rewards to those of most merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling

* Alexander had taken the same method before him, among the Persians. For he ordered thirty thousand Persian boys to be taught Greek, and to be trained in the Macedonian manner.

† A city in Hispania *Tarraconensis*.

down from the neck, called by the Romans *bullæ*.

It was then the custom in Spain, for the band which fought near the general's person, when he fell to die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death, the barbarians call a *Libation*.* The other generals had but a few of these guards or knights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to save Sertorius, exposed themselves without any precaution. They passed him upon their shoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls, and when their general was secure, then they dispersed, and fled for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spanish soldiers only, but by those who came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the same party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money, and a respectable army, intending to proceed in his operations against Metellus upon his own bottom; the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave great uneasiness to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter stop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their arms and standards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to save both himself and those under his command. So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts.†

Sertorius now found himself at the head of a great army; for, besides the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his interest, and troops were daily flocking in on all sides. But it gave him pain

to see them behave with the disorder and ferocity of barbarians; to find them calling upon him to give the signal to charge, and impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do, and they had no effect. They still continued obstinate and clamorous, often demanding the combat in a very unreasonable manner. At last he permitted them to engage in their own way, in consequence of which they would suffer great loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated. These checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under discipline.

The event answered his expectation. They fought and were beaten; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them up out of their despondence. For which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given, the strong man began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time to the great diversion of the spectators and at last was forced to give up the point; the later, without any difficulty, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all its hair.‡ Then Sertorius rose up and said, "You see, my friends and fellow soldiers, how much greater are the effects of perseverance, than those of force, and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time, I say, who is the best friend and ally to those that have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents, and the worst enemy to those who will be

* In Gaul, the persons who laid themselves under this obligation, were called *Soldurii*. Cæs. de Bell. Gall. l. iii.

† A cohort is the tenth part of a legion

‡ Herace alludes to this, l. ii. ep. 1.

rushing into action when it does not call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper junctures and occasions.

But his contrivance with respect to the Characitani gained him as much admiration as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitani are seated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all to the north. The soil of all the country about is a clay, so very light and crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder by the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire to these caves with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius, retiring to some distance from Metellus, encamped under this hill; and the savage inhabitants imagining he retired only because he was beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment, or willing to show them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed, that the wind blew the dust in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which, as I said before, are all to the north. The north wind, which some call *Cæcias*,* prevails most in those parts; taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the daytime refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neigh-

bouring Spaniards that these were the usual appearances, ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it over against the hill. The barbarians imagining he intended to storm their strong holds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work till night, and then he led them back into the camp. Next morning, by break of day, a gentle breeze sprung up, which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and as the sun got up higher the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with dust. Meantime the soldiers stirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and some galloped up and down to raise the light earth, and thicken the clouds of dust in the wind; which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani; their entrances directly facing it. As they were caves, and, of course, had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were soon filled, and they could scarce breath for the suffocating dust which they drew in with the air. In these wretched circumstances they held out two days, though with great difficulty, and the third day surrendered themselves to Sertorius at discretion; who by reducing them, did not gain such an accession of strength as of honour. For an honour it was to subdue those by policy, whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on the war against Metellus only, his success in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adversary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops so light, that they might pass rather for a marauding party than a regular army. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took post against him, every art of generalship on both sides was exhausted, and yet even then it appeared, that in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this case, the fame of Sertorius greatly increased, and extended itself as far as Rome, where he was considered the ablest general of his time. Indeed, the honour Pompey had acquired was very considerable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla, set him in a very

* Mediâ inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem. PLIN. l. ii. c. 47.

Narrant et in Ponto Cæcian in se trahere nubes. Ib.

respectable light, insomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of *the Great*, and he was distinguished with a triumph, even before he wrote man. This made many of the cities, which were under the command of Sertorius, cast their eye upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they returned to their old attachment, upon the unexpected success that attended Sertorius at Lauron.*

Sertorius was besieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at some distance from the walls, from which the city might be greatly annoyed. Sertorius hastened to seize it, and Pompey to prevent him: but the former gained the post. Pompey, however, sat down by it with great satisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he sent a message to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly easy, and sit quietly upon their walls, while they saw him besiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and said, "I will teach that scholar of Sylla" (so in ridicule he called Pompey,) "that a general ought to look behind him, rather than before him." At the same time he showed the besieged a body of six thousand foot in the camp which he had quitted, in order to seize the hill, and which had been left there on purpose to take Pompey in the rear, when he should come to attack Sertorius in the post he now occupied.

Pompey, not discovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded. And yet he was ashamed to leave the Lauronites in such extreme danger. The consequence was, that he was obliged to sit still and see the town lost. The people, in despair of assistance, surrendered to Sertorius, who was pleased to spare the inhabitants, and let them go free; but he laid their city in ashes. This was not done out of anger, or a spirit of cruelty (for he seems to have indulged his resentment less than any other general whatever,) but to put the admirers of Pompey to the blush; while it was said among the barbarians, that though he was at hand,

and almost warmed himself at the flame, he suffered his allies to perish.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the course of the war; but it was not where he acted in person, for he ever continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And such was his manner of rectifying the mistakes, that he met with more applause than his adversaries in the midst of their success. Instances of which we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tuttia† with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the sooner, because Pompey hastened it, to prevent Metellus from having a share in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted, to try his strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the persuasion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkness a hinderance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they came to charge he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wished, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing, opposite to *him*, who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as soon as he understood that his left gave way to the vigorous impressions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. By rallying the fugitives, and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confusion, who before was pursuing; nay, that general was in the greatest danger; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty. For the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the pursuit, to quarrel about dividing the spoil. In the meantime, when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to succour the other in distress, Afranius overthrew all before him, and closely pursuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was

† Grævius conjectures, that we should read *Turia*, the *Turins* being a river which falls into the Sucro.

* A city of Hither Spain, five leagues from Valencia.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

dark, he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the soldier's from plundering, if he had desired it. At this instant Sertorius returns with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius which were scattered up and down the camp, and destroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gaiety: "If the old woman," said he, "had not been here. I would have flogged the boy well, and sent him back to Rome."

He was, notwithstanding, much afflicted for the loss of his hind. For she was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune some of his soldiers, as they were strolling one night about the country, met with her, and knowing her by the colour, brought her to him. Sertorius, happy to find her again, promised the soldiers large sums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind; and a few days after appeared in public with a cheerful countenance to transact business, telling the barbarian officers that he had some extraordinary happiness announced to him from heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal for the despatch of such affairs as might come before him. At that instant the hind being let loose near the place by those who had the charge of her, and seeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in the manner to which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of sincere affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly at first looked on with silent astonishment: but afterwards they testified their regard for Sertorius with the loudest plauds and acclamations, as a person of a superior nature beloved by the gods. With these impressions they conducted him to his pavilion, and resumed all the hopes and spirits with which he could have wished to inspire them.

He watched the enemy so close in the plains of Seguntum, that they were

in great want of provisions: and as they were determined at last to go out to forage and collect necessities, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed on both sides. Memmius, the best officer Pompey had, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the slain made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppose him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at last was borne down with the stroke of a spear. All the Romans, who saw or heard of his disaster, resolved not to abandon their general, and from an impulse of shame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus with their shields, till others carried him off in safety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed sides, Sertorius, to secure a safe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raising fresh forces, had the art to retire into a city strongly situated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, as though he thought of nothing less than standing a siege. The enemy, however, were deceived by appearances. They invested the place, and, in the imagination that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command, with instructions, when they had assembled a sufficient number, to send a messenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new raised troops, and returned with that additional strength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land: at land by laying ambushes or hemming them in, and, by the rapidity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter; at sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans were obliged to separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter quarters in the territories

of the Vacceians, where he was greatly distressed for want of money; inso-much that he informed the senate, he should soon leave the country, if they did not supply him; for he had already sacrificed his own fortune in the defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then published; in which Metellus offered a reward of a hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land to any Roman who should take him; and if that Roman was an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate, that he suffered himself to be saluted as *Imperator*; and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said, he received crowns of victory, that he made most magnificent entertainments on the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, descended in machines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins sung songs in his praise. These circumstances were extremely ridiculous, if he expressed so much joy and such super-abundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every step he took. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a senate. Out of them he appointed quæstors and æntenants, and in every thing proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of still greater moment, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have the least share in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals

and governors; to make it appear the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to set up the Spaniards against the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his passion to be restored to it was one of the first in his heart. Yet, in his greatest misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity. On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey, to lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He said he had rather be the meanest citizen of Rome, than an exile with the command of all the countries in the world.

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure owing to the attachment he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; consequently his affections centered in her. His Spanish friends wanted to constitute him supreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himself up to the most alarming grief. For seven whole days he neither gave the word, nor would be seen by any of his friends. At last, his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground and make his appearance to speak to the soldiers, and to take the direction of their affairs, which were then as prosperous as he could desire. Hence many imagined that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a lover of tranquillity, but he was brought against his inclination, by some means or other, to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourse to it merely in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity than those that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the lists again, and renewed his pretensions to Asia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west, carried back news of his achievements like commodities from

a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced to it by the vain speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never be able to bear up against two such powers and two persons of such genius and abilities, when attacked by them in different quarters; one being the most excellent of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates sent ambassadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and proposals to be made in conference; the purport of which was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his council, which he called *the Senate*. They were unanimous in their opinions that he should accept the conditions and think himself happy in them; since they were only asked an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would supply them with what they most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He said, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any just title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim; a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards lost to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never consent that he should be put in possession of it again. "Rome," said he, "ought to have her power extended by my victories, and it is not my right to rise to power at her expense. A man who has any dignity of sentiment should conquer with honour, and not use any base means even to save his life."

Mithridates was perfectly astonished at this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends: "What orders would Sertorius give us, when seated in the senate house at Rome, if now, driven as he is to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, he prescribes

bounds to our empire, and threatens us with war if we make any attempt upon Asia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was sworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to supply him with a general and some troops; the king, on the other hand, was to furnish Sertorius with three thousand talents and forty ships of war.

The general whom Sertorius sent into Asia, was a senator, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his assistance, had taken some cities in Asia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for these favours to Sertorius. So that Asia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, had once more a prospect of some happier mode of government.

But in Spain, the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as on a footing with him, no sooner saw themselves as a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a foolish jealousy and envy of their general. At the head of these was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aspired to the command, and scrupled not to address his partisans in private with such speeches at these: "What evil daemon possesses us, and leads us from bad to worse? We, who would not stay at home and submit to the orders of Sylla, who is master of both sea and land, what are we come to? Did we not come here for liberty? Yet here we are voluntary slaves; guards to the exiled Sertorius. We suffer ourselves to be amused with the title of a senate; a title despised and ridiculed by all the world. O noble senators, who submit to the most mortifying tasks and labours, as much as the meanest Spaniards and Lusitanians?"

Numbers were attacked with these and such like discourses; and though they did not openly revolt, because they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin

his affairs, by treating the barbarians ill, inflicting heavy punishments, and collecting exorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raise disturbances; and the persons sent to compose those disturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience: insomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injustice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Osca, putting some to death, and selling others for slaves.

The conspiracy daily gathered strength, and among the rest Perpenna drew in Manlius,* who had a considerable command in the army. *

* * * * *
He and his partisans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by one of his officers and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sertorius offered sacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the design, an invitation to supper, which, with much entreaty, he prevailed upon him to accept. The entertainments at which Sertorius was present, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had ever accustomed the guests to divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midst of the entertainment, the conspirators began to seek occasion to quarrel, giving into the most dissolute discourse, and pretending drunkenness as the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obscenities and design, or guessing at their designs by the manner of their drawing them out, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise it

made being the signal for them to fall on, Antony, who sat next to Sertorius, gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and strove to get up; but Antony throwing himself upon his breast held both his hands; so that not being able in the least to defend himself the rest of the conspirators despatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first news of his death, most of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those that remained; but though he had the use of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made so ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command than how to obey, he gave Pompey battle, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. Nor in this last distress did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his possession, and he offered Pompey the sight of original letters from men of consular dignity, and the greatest interest in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into Italy in consequence of the desire of numbers who wanted a change in the present state of affairs, and a new administration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a solid and improved understanding and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all those letters, and the other papers of Sertorius, and burned them, without either reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, lest he should mention the names of those who wrote the letters, and thence new seditions and troubles should arise. Perpenna's accomplices met the same fate; some of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others, who fled into Africa, shot by the Moors. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the seeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, wretchedly poor, and universally despised.

* Dacier thinks we should read *Manius*, by which he means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the first blow.



EUMENES.

DURIS the historian writes that Eumenes the Cardian, was the son of a poor waggoner in the Chersonesus, and yet that he had a liberal education both as to learning and the exercises then in vogue.* He says, that while he was but a lad, Philip happening to be in Cardia, went to spend an hour of leisure in seeing how the young men acquitted themselves in the *pancraton*,† and the boys in wrestling. Among these Eumenes succeeded so well, and showed so much activity and address, that Philip was pleased with him, and took him into his train. But others assert, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendship and hospitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honour with which he discharged his commissions; and though he had only the title of principal secretary, he was looked upon in as honourable a light as the king's most intimate friends and counsellors: inso-much that he had the sole direction of an Indian expedition, and upon the death of Hephæstion, when Perdiccas

had the post of that favourite, he succeeded Perdiccas. Therefore, when Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armour-bearer, took upon him to say, after the death of Alexander, "That he had borne the shield and spear of that monarch, and that Eumenes had only followed with his *escritoire*," the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that, besides other marks of honour, Alexander had thought Eumenes not unworthy his alliance. For Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, who was the first lady Alexander took to his bed in Asia, and who brought him a son named Hercules, had two sisters; one of which, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy; and the other, called also Barsine, he gave to Eumenes, at the time when he was selecting Persian ladies as wives for his friends.‡

Yet it must be acknowledged, he was often in disgrace with Alexander, and once or twice in danger too, on account of Hephæstion. In the first

‡ Alexander had married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and given the youngest, named Trypætis, to Hephæstion. This was a measure well calculated for establishing him and his posterity on the Persian throne; but it was obnoxious to the Macedonians. Therefore, to support it on one hands and to obviate inconveniences on the others he selected eighty virgins out of the most honourable families in Persia, and persuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them.

* There were public schools, where children of all conditions were taught without distinction.

† The *pancraton* (as we have already observed) was a composition of wrestling and boxing.

place, Hephæstion gave a musician named Evius, the quarters which the servants of Eumenes had taken up for him. Upon this, Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander, with Mentor,* and said, "The best method they could take, was to throw away their arms, and learn to play upon the flute, or turn tragedians." Alexander at first entered into his quarrel, and sharply rebuked Hephæstion: but he soon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his displeasure upon Eumenes; thinking he had behaved with more disrespect to him than resentment against Hephæstion.

Again; when Alexander wanted to send out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coasts of the ocean, he found his treasury low, and asked his friends for a supply. Among the rest, he applied to Eumenes for three hundred talents, who offered him only a hundred, and assured him, at the same time, he should find it difficult to collect that sum by his stewards. Alexander refused the offer, but did not remonstrate or complain. However, he ordered his servants privately to set fire to Eumenes's tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and be openly convicted of the falsity. It happened that the tent was entirely consumed, and Alexander was sorry on account of the loss of his papers. There was gold and silver found melted, to the amount of more than a thousand talents, yet even then the king took none of it. And having written to all his grandees and lieutenants to send him copies of the despatches that were lost, upon their arrival he put them again under the care of Eumenes.

Some time after, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, on account of some present from the king to one of them. Much severe and abusive language passed between them, yet Alexander, for the present, did not look upon Eumenes with the less regard. But, Hephæstion dying soon after, the king, in his unspeakable affliction for that loss, expressed

his resentment against all who he thought envied that favourite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of those whom he most suspected of such sentiments, and he often mentioned the differences, and the severe language those differences had produced. Eumenes, however, being an artful man, and happy at expedients, made the very person through whom he had lost the king's favour, the means of regaining it. He seconded the zeal and application of Alexander to celebrate the memory of Hephæstion. He suggested such instances of veneration as he thought might do most honour to the deceased, and contributed largely and freely out of his own purse, towards the expenses of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a great quarrel broke out between the *phalanx* and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes, in his heart, sided with the *phalanx*, but in appearance stood neuter, as a person perfectly indifferent; saying, it did not become him, who was a stranger, to interfere in the disputes of the Macedonians. And when the other great officers retired from Babylon, he stayed there, endeavouring to appease that body of infantry, and to dispose them to a reconciliation.

After these troubles were passed, and the generals met to consult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries assigned Eumenes were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coast of Pontus as far as Trapezus. These countries were not then subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great army, and put Eumenes in possession. Antigonus, now elated with power, and despising all the world, gave no attention to the letter of Perdicas. But Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, and promised to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecataeus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and desired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were besieged in Lamia.† Leonatus, being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecataeus. They had long had

* Mentor was brother to Memnon, whose widow Barsine was Alexander's mistress. He was also brother-in-law to Artabazus; and the second Barsine, whom Eumenes married, seems to have been daughter to Memnon and Mentor's sister.

† A city in Thessaly.

suspicious of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics; in consequence of which Eumenes had once accused Hecataeus of setting himself up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to restore that people to liberty. He now desired to be excused taking a share in the Grecian expedition, alleging he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated him, to gratify himself as well as Hecataeus, would make some attempt upon his life. Upon which, Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the assisting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he designed, as soon as he landed in Greece, to assert his claim to Macedonia. At the same time he showed him letters from Cleopatra,* in which she invited him to Pella, and promised to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he despaired of any service from Leonatus, who was extremely obstinate in his temper, and followed every impulse of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse, two hundred of his domestics well armed, and all his treasure, amounting to five thousand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and as he acquainted that general with the secret designs of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favour, and admitted to share in his councils. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in person conducted him into Cappadocia, with a great army; took Ariarathes prisoner, subdued all the country, and established Eumenes in that government: in consequence of which Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garrisons with proper officers at their head, and appointed judges and superintendents of the revenue. Perdiccas leaving the entire disposition of those things to him. After this, he departed with Perdiccas; choosing to give him that testimony of respect, and not thinking it consistent with his interest to be absent from his court. But Perdiccas, satisfied that he could himself execute the designs he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces

he had left behind required an able and faithful guardian, sent back Eumenes when he had reached Cilicia. The presence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government: but the real intention that he should secure the adjoining province of Armenia, which was disturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of sanguine pursuits, and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however, endeavoured to keep him to his duty, by soothing applications. And as he saw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely insolent and audacious, he applied himself to raising a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoise against them. For this purpose he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to those of his province who were good horsemen. He also bought a great number of horses, and distributed them among such of his courtiers as he placed the greatest confidence in; exciting them by honours and rewards, and training them to strength and skill by a variety of exercises. The Macedonians upon this were differently affected, some with astonishment, and others with joy, to see a body of cavalry collected, to the number of six thousand three hundred, and trained in so short a space of time.

About that time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, passed into Asia, to overthrow the power of Perdiccas; and news was brought that their first intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himself was engaged in war with Ptolemy: he therefore appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia; and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had invested with discretionary powers. Alcetas plainly refused to submit to that injunction; alleging, that the Macedonians would be ashamed to fight Antipater; and as for Craterus, their affection for him was such, that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was visible that Neoptolemus was forming some treacherous scheme against Eumenes; for, when called upon, he refused to join him, and, instead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the first occasion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his fore-

* The sister of Alexander.

sight and timely preparations; for, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage. And while the phalanx were dispersed upon the pursuit, he fell upon them in such good order with his horse, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to serve him. Neoptolemus collected some of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already sent ambassadors to Eumenes, to desire him to adopt their interests, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops: in which case he would find Antipater a friend instead of an enemy, and continue in friendship with Craterus instead of turning his arms against him.

Eumenes made answer to these proposals, "That having long been on a footing of enmity with Antipater, he did not choose to be his friend, at a time when he saw him treating his friends as so many enemies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile him to Perdikkas, and to compromise matters between them upon just and reasonable terms. But if he should begin hostilities, he should support his injured friend while he had an hour to live, and rather sacrifice life itself than his honour."

When this answer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took some time to deliberate upon the measures they should pursue. Meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving, gave them an account of the battle he had lost, and requested assistance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He said, "The Macedonians had so extraordinary an attachment to him, that if they saw but his hat, or heard one accent of his tongue, they would immediately run to him with their swords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among them, and, after the death of Alexander, most of them wished to be under his command. They remembered the risks he had run of embroiling himself with Alexander for their sakes; how he had combated the inclinations for Persian fashions which insensibly grew upon him, and supported the customs of his country against the insults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now sent Antipater into

Cilicia, and taking a considerable part of the forces himself, marched along with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. If Eumenes foresaw his coming, and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance necessary in a general; we see nothing in that of superior genius. But when, besides his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to discover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adversary, and made them serve against Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we see characteristic proofs of generalship. For he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, assisted by Pigris, was advancing again with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse. The night he designed to decamp, he fell into a sound sleep, and had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he saw two Alexanders prepared to try their strength against each other, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to support the one and Ceres the other. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Alexander assisted by Minerva was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. He immediately concluded that the dream was in his favour, because he had to fight for a country which was most of it in tillage, and which had then so excellent a crop, well advanced towards the sickle, that the whole face of it had the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was *Minerva and Alexander*; and in opposition to it he gave *Ceres and Alexander*. At the same time, he ordered his men to crown themselves, and to cover their arms with ears of corn. He was several times upon the point of declaring to his principal officers and captains what adversary they had to contend with; thinking it a hazardous undertaking to keep to himself a secret so important, and perhaps necessary for them to know. — Yet he abode by his first resolution, and trusted his own heart only with the danger that might ensue.

When he came to give battle, he would not set any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus the son of

Artabazus, and Phoenix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the first sight of the enemy, and come to close fighting, without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to speak or send any herald, they were not to regard it. For he had strong apprehensions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus, if they happened to know him. Eumenes himself, with a troop of three hundred select horse, went and posted himself in the right wing, where he should have to act against Neoptolemus. When they had passed a little hill that separated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with such impetuosity that Craterus was extremely surprised and expressed his resentment in strong terms against Neoptolemus, who, he thought, had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians would change sides. However, he exhorted his officers to behave like brave men, and stood forward to the encounter. In the first shock, which was very violent, the spears were soon broke, and they were then to decide the dispute with the sword.

The behaviour of Craterus did no dishonour to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who assailed him in front. But at last he received a side blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many passed over him without knowing him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's officers, took notice of him; and being well acquainted with his person, leaped from his horse and guarded the body. It was then, however, too late; he was at the last extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the meantime, Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes. The most violent hatred had long subsisted between them, and this day added stings to it. They knew not one another in the two first encounters, but in the third they did; and then they rushed forward impetuously with swords drawn and loud shouts. The shock their horses met with was so violent, that it resembled that of two galleys. The fierce antagonists quitted the bridles, and laid hold of each other; each endeavouring to tear off the helmet or the breastplate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged their horses went

from under them; and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wrestled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to rise first, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus, being wounded in one knee, supported himself upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adversary a mortal blow. At last, receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and stretched himself upon the ground. Eumenes, with all the eagerness of inveterate hatred, hastened to strip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not observe that his sword was still in his hand; so that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuirass, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the stroke was but feeble, the apprehensions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had despoiled his adversary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse and made up to his left wing, which he supposed might still be engaged with the enemy. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he hastened to him; and finding his breath and senses not quite gone, he alighted from his horse, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while he lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel necessity he was under of coming to extremities with his most intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former. And it raised him to a high rank of honour, because it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage, but at the same time it exposed him to the envy and hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It seemed hard to them, that a stranger, a foreign adventurer, should have destroyed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the Macedonians with the arms of those very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought sooner to Perdikkas, none but he would have swayed the Macedonian sceptre. But he was slain in a mutiny in Egypt, two days before the news

arrived. The Macedonians, so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry that decree into execution. Meantime Eumenes went to the king's horses which were pasturing upon mount Ida, and took such as he had occasion for, but gave the keepers a discharge for them. When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed, and said, "He could not enough admire the caution of Eumenes, who must certainly expect to see the account of the king's goods and chattels stated either on one side or other."

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because he was strong in cavalry, and because he was ambitious to show Cleopatra what a respectable force he had. However, at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause of complaint, he marched to the Upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celænæ. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus contended with him for the command; upon which he said, "This makes good the observation, every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one thinks of the danger that may accrue to the public weal."

He had promised to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he sold them all the farms and castles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the castle, he divided the spoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This restored him the affections of the soldiers; inasmuch that when papers were found in his camp, dispersed by the enemy, in which their generals promised a hundred talents and great honours to the man who should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed, and gave order that from that time he should have a body guard of a thousand officer-like men always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in waiting day and night. There was not a man who refused that charge; and they were

glad to receive from the hands of Eumenes the marks of honour which those who were called the king's friends used to receive from the hands of royalty. For he too was empowered to distribute purple hats and rich robes, which were considered as the principal gifts the kings of Macedon had to bestow.

Prosperity gives some appearance of higher sentiments even to persons of mean spirit, and we see something of grandeur and importance about them in the elevation where fortune has placed them. But he who is inspired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will show it most by the dignity of his behaviour under losses, and in the most adverse fortune. So did Eumenes. When he had lost a battle to Antigonus in the territory of the Orecynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himself, he did not suffer the traitor to escape to the enemy, but took him and hanged him on the spot. In his flight he took a different way from the pursuers, and privately turned round in such a manner, as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead; whom he collected and burned with the door posts of the neighbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and common soldiers were burned upon separate piles; and when he had raised great monuments of earth over them, he decamped. So that Antigonus coming that way afterwards, was astonished at his firmness and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have taken it, together with many persons of free condition, a great number of slaves, and all the wealth which had been amassed in so many wars, and the plunder of so many countries. But he was afraid that his men, when possessed of such riches and spoils, would think themselves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardships of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal resource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was sensible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the spoil, when it was so much within reach. He therefore ordered them to refresh themselves, and feed

their horses, before they attacked the enemy. In the mean time he privately sent a messenger to Menander, who escorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in consideration of the friendship which had subsisted between them, advised him to provide for his safety, and to retire as fast as possible from the plain, where he might easily be surrounded, to the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where the cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon his rear."

Menander soon perceived his danger, and retired. After which, Eumenes sent out his scouts in the presence of all the soldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horses, in order for the attack. The scouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a situation where he could not be taken. Hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told, that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness, for acting so generous a part, when it was in his power to have enslaved their children and dishonoured their wives. The answer Antigonus gave them was this: "Think not, my good friends, it was for your sakes he let them go: it was for his own. He did not choose to have so many shackles upon him, when he designed to fly."

After this, Eumenes being forced to wander and fly from place to place, spoke to many of his soldiers to leave him; either out of care for their safety, or because he did not choose to have a body of men after him, who were too few to stand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy. And when he retired to the castle of Nora,* on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, there again he gave all such of his friends free leave to depart as did not like the inconveniences of the place and the meanness of his diet,† and dismissed them with great marks of kindness.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and, before he formed that siege, in

* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.

† A hundred left him upon this offer.

vited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, Antigonus had many friends and generals "to take his place, in case of accidents to himself; but the troops he had the care of had none to command or protect them after him." He therefore insisted that Antigonus should send hostages, if he wanted to treat with him in person. And when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him first, as the greater man, he said, "While I am master of my sword, I shall never think any man greater than myself." At last Antigonus sent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hostage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which lasted a considerable time, Eumenes made no mention of security for his own life, or of an amnesty for what was passed. Instead of that, he insisted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and considerable rewards for his services besides; insomuch that all who attended on this occasion, admired his firmness, and were astonished at his greatness of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to see Eumenes, for, after the death of Craterus, no man was so much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing they should offer him some violence, called to them to keep at a distance; and when they still kept crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last he took him in his arms, and keeping off the multitude with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a sufficient number of troops to carry on the siege, he retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and salt, but in want of every thing else requisite for the table. Yet with this mean provision he furnished out a cheerful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns; for he took care to season his provisions with agreeable discourse and the utmost cordiality. His appearance was, indeed, very engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was smooth and elegant; and

the proportion of his limbs was so excellent that they might seem to have come from the chisel of the statuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a soft and persuasive way of speaking, as we may conclude from his epistles.

He observed, that the greatest inconvenience to the garrison was the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, enclosed as it was with small houses, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit; so that they were forced to take their food without exercise, and their horses to do the same. To remove the languor which is the consequence of that want, as well as to prepare them for flight, if occasion should offer, he assigned a room fourteen cubits long, the largest in all the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horses, he tied them to the roof of the stable with strong halters. Then he raised their heads and fore parts by a pulley, till they could scarce touch the ground with their fore feet, but at the same time, they stood firm upon their hind feet. In this posture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice; and the horses, thus irritated, bounded furiously on their hind feet, or strained to set their fore feet on the ground; by which efforts their whole body was exercised, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exercise, which was no bad one, either for speed or strength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might sooner despatch, and better digest it.

As the siege was drawn out to a considerable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater, in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animosities between Cassander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior prospects, and grasped the whole empire in his schemes: in consequence of which he wanted to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to co-operate in the execution of his plan. For this purpose he sent to him Hieronymus,*

* Hieronymus, was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the history of those princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their successors.

with proposals of peace, on condition he took the oath that was offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place to judge which form was the most reasonable. Indeed, Antigonus, to save appearances, had slightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the rest ran in his own name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias, and the princess of the blood first; and he proposed to engage himself by oath of fealty, not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more consistent with justice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raised the siege. They likewise sent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Meantime Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians all the hostages he had in Nora, and in return they furnished him with horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected great part of his soldiers who had dispersed themselves after his defeat, and were straggling about the country. By this means he assembled near a thousand horse,† with which he marched off as fast as possible; rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be besieged again, and shut up with a circular wall, but, in his letters expressed great resentment against the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehensions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein she invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's son, whose life she conceived to be in danger. At the same time, Polyperchon and king Philip sent him orders to carry on the war against Antigonus with the forces in Cappadocia. They empowered him also to take five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda,‡ for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and as much more

† Diodorus Siculus says two thousand
‡ In Caria

as he should judge necessary for the purposes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus too, who commanded the *Argyraspides*, had directions to support him.

These officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind reception, but it was not difficult to discover the envy and jealousy they had in their hearts, and how much they disdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavoured to remove, by not taking the money, which he told them he did not want. To remove their obstinacy and ambition for the first place, was not so easy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were resolved not to obey. In this case he called in the assistance of superstition. He said, Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, after which that prince declared, "If they would hold their councils, and despatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and action which commenced under his auspices."*

He easily persuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe he had this vision. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he choose to dishonour his commission by going to them. They prepared, therefore, a royal pavilion, and a throne in it, which they called the throne of Alexander; and thither they repaired to consult upon the most important affairs.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way, were joined by Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly strengthened both in point of numbers, and in the most magnificent provision of all the requisites of war. But power and affluence had rendered these governors so intractable in so-

ciety, and so dissolute in their way of living since the death of Alexander, and they came together with a spirit of despotism so nursed by barbaric pride, that they soon became obnoxious to each other, and no sort of harmony could subsist between them. Besides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and supplied them with money in such a manner, for their entertainments and sacrifices, that, in a little time, their camp looked like a place of public reception for every scene of intemperance; and those veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

Eumenes soon perceived that the new arrived grandees despised each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large sums of those that hated him most,† in order that they might place some confidence in him, or at least might give up their designs upon his life, out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himself in the opulence of others; and, though men in general seek to save their lives by giving, he provided for his safety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of those that affected the command. But when Antigonus came and encamped over against them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the soldiers, but the very grandees who had taken so much state upon them in time of peace and pleasure, freely gave place to him, and took the post assigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to pass the river Pasitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it, got any intelligence of his motions: Eumenes alone was at hand to oppose him; and he did it so effectually, that he filled the channel with dead bodies, and made four thousand prisoners.

The behaviour of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to be sick, still more particularly showed, that they

* In consequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes proposed to take a sum out of the treasury, sufficient for making a throne of gold; to place upon that throne the diadem, the sceptre, and crown, and all the other ensigns of royalty belonging to that prince; that every morning a sacrifice should be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders should be issued in his name. A stroke of policy suitable to the genius of Eumenes.

† Four hundred thousand crowns.

thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the solemnities of peace, but that he was the only person among them fit to lead an army. For Peucestas having feasted them in a sumptuous manner in Persia, and given each man a sheep for sacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching against the enemy, Eumenes was so dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, at some distance from the ranks, lest his rest, which was very precarious, should be disturbed with the noise. They had not gone far, before the enemy suddenly made their appearance, for they had passed the intermediate hill, and were now descending into the plain. The lustre of their golden armour glittering in the sun, as they marched down the hill, the elephants with the towers on their backs, and the purple vests which the cavalry used to wear when they were advancing to the combat, struck the tooops that were to oppose them with such surprise that the front halted, and called out for Eumenes; declaring that they would not move a step farther, if he had not the direction of them. At the same time they grounded their arms, exhorting each other to stop, and insisted that their officers should not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no sooner heard this, than he advanced with the utmost expedition, hastening the slaves that carried the litter. He likewise opened the curtains, and stretched out his hand, in token of his joy. On the first sight of the general of their heart, the troops saluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and, with loud shouts, challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themselves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus, having learned from some prisoners that Eumenes was so extremely ill that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, concluded he should find no great difficulty in beating the other generals; and, therefore hastened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and saw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he stood still some time, in silent admiration. At last spying the litter carried about from one wing to the

other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and said to his friends, "Yon litter is the thing that pitches battle against us." After this he immediately retreated to his intrenchments.*

* There are some particulars in Diodorus which deserve to be inserted here. After the two armies were separated, without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs distance from each other; and Antigonus soon finding the country where he lay so much exhausted that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the old Macedonian corps, to desert Eumenes, and to join him; which, at this time they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, Eumenes came into the assembly, and delivered himself in the following fable. "A lion once falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of the father. The father made answer, that he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his claws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute, that might happen between them after marriage, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately; whereupon, the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy. This," continued he, "is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who is liberal in promises till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws." A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, presently guessed that his design was to seek quarters of refreshment for his army in the rich district of Gabene. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, and sent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But, while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which at length Antigonus suspected; and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he discerned Eumenes, with his army below; and Eumenes, upon sight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand, faced about, and disposed his troops in order to battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn; and as soon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a sharp action followed, in which the victory seemed won and lost several times. At last, however,

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themselves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a disorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and spread themselves over almost all the provinces of Gabene for winter quarters; insomuch, that the first were at the distance of a thousand furlongs from the last. Antigonus, being informed of this circumstance, moved back against them, without losing a moment's time. He took a rugged road, that afforded no water, because it was the shortest; hoping, if he fell upon them while thus dispersed, that it would be impossible for their officers to assemble them.

However, as soon as he had entered that desolate country, his troops were attacked with such violent winds, and severe frosts, that it was difficult for them to proceed; and they found it necessary to light many fires. For this reason their march could not be concealed. The barbarians, who inhabited the mountains that overlooked the desert, wondering what such a number of fires could mean, sent some persons upon dromedaries to Peucestas, with an account of them.

Peucestas, distracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him such troops as he could collect on the way. But Eumenes soon dispelled their fears and uneasiness, by promising so to impede the enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from the quarters, and assemble them with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his colleagues to seek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, so as to resemble a camp.

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress; for he thought the enemy were apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet

Antigonus had visibly the worst, being forced to withdraw, by long marches, into Media.—*Dion. Sic. lib. xviii.*

him. Not choosing, therefore, with forces so harassed and fatigued with their march, to be obliged to fight troops that were perfectly fresh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages; giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him in his march, which is usual when an enemy is near, and was informed by the neighbouring inhabitants, that they had seen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalship; and this incensed him so much that he advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

Meantime the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this Antigenes and Teutamus, who were at the head of the *Argyraspides*, were so exasperated with envy, that they formed a plot against his life; and having drawn into it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make use of him in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their resolutions; not out of any kindness or benevolent regard, but because they were afraid of losing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends, "That he lived among a herd of savage beasts," and immediately made his will. After which he destroyed all his papers, lest after his death, charges and impeachments should arise against the persons who wrote them, in consequence of the secrets discovered there. He then considered whether he should put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia; but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends stayed with him. After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almost as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the forces, and endeavoured to animate the Greeks and

the barbarians. On the other hand, the *Phalanx* and the *Argyraspides* bade him be of good courage, assuring him, that the enemy would not stand the encounter; for they were veterans who had served under Philip and Alexander, and like so many champions of the ring, had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were seventy years of age, and none less than sixty. So that when they charged the troops of Antigonos, they cried out, "Villains, you fight against your fathers!" Then they fell furiously upon his infantry, and soon routed them. Indeed, none of the battalions could stand the shock, and the most of them were cut in pieces upon the spot. But though Antigonos had such bad success in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and dastardly behaviour of Peucestas, and took all the baggage. Antigonos was a man who had an excellent presence of mind on the most trying occasions, and here the place and the occasion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the soil neither deep nor hard, but, like the sea-shore, covered with a fine dry sand, which the trampling of so many men and horses, during the action, reduced to a small white dust, that, like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the prospect; so that it was easy for Antigonos to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Teutamus sent some of his corps to Antigonos, to desire him to restore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the *Argyraspides* their baggage, but treat them, in all respects, with the greatest kindness, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The *Argyraspides* came into that abominable measure, and agreed to deliver up that brave man alive to his enemies. In pursuance of this scheme, they approached him unsuspected, and planted themselves about him. Some lamented the loss of their baggage, some desired him to assume the spirit of victory, which he had gained; others accused the rest of their commanders. Thus watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his sword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was sent by Antigonos to

receive him. But, as they led him through the midst of the Macedonians, he desired first to speak to them; not for any request he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to *them*. Silence being made, he ascended an eminence, and stretching out his hands, bound as they were, he said: "What trophy, ye vilest of all the Macedonians! what trophy could Antigonos have wished to raise, like this which you are raising, by delivering up your general bound? Was it not base enough to acknowledge yourselves beaten, merely for the sake of your baggage, as if victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and not upon the points of your swords; but you must also send your general as a ransom for that baggage? For my part, though thus led, I am not conquered; I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by my fellow-soldiers. But I conjure you by the god of armies,* and the awful deities who preside over oaths, to kill me here with your own hands. If my life be taken by another, the deed will be still yours. Nor will Antigonos complain, if you take the work out of his hands; for he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. If you choose not to be the immediate instruments, loose but one of my hands, and that shall do the business. If you will not trust me with a sword, throw me, bound as I am, to wild beasts. If you comply with this last request, I acquit you of all guilt with respect to me, and declare you have behaved to your general like the best and honestest of men."

The rest of the troops received this speech with sighs and tears, and every expression of sorrow; but the *Argyraspides* cried out, "Lead him on, and attend not to his trifling; for it is no such great matter, if an execrable Chersonesian, who has harassed the Macedonians with infinite wars, have cause to lament his fate; as it would be, if the best of Alexander's and Philip's soldiers should be deprived of the fruit of their labours, and have their bread to beg in their old age. And have not our wives already passed three nights with our enemies?" So saying they drove him forward.

* Jupiter.

Antigonus fearing some bad consequences from the crowd (for there was not a man left in the camp), sent out ten of his best elephants, and a corps of spearmen, who were Medes and Parthians, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his presence, because of the former friendly connexions there had been between them. And when those who took the charge of him, asked, in what manner he would have him kept? He said, "So as you would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheless, he soon felt some impressions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a servant who had been accustomed to wait upon him. He likewise permitted such of his friends as desired it, to pass whole days with him, and to bring him necessary refreshments. Thus he spent some considerable time in deliberating how to dispose of him, and sometimes listened to the applications and promises of Nearches the Cretan, and his own son Demetrius, who made it a point to save him. But all the other officers insisted that he should be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now he had got his enemy into his power, did not either immediately despatch him, or generously release him?" Onomarchus answered, in a contemptuous manner, "That in the battle, and not now, he should have been so ready to meet death." To which

Eumenes replied, "By heavens I was so! Ask those who ventured to engage me, if I was not. I do not know that I met with a better man than myself."—"Well," said Onomarchus, "now you have found a better man than yourself, why do you not patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had resolved upon his death, he gave orders that he should have no kind of food. By this means in two or three days time, he began to draw near his end: and then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon some sudden emergency, sent in an executioner to despatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honourably, and to collect the ashes into a silver urn, in order to their being sent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes: and divine justice did not go far to seek instruments of vengeance against the officers* and soldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himself detesting the *Argyraspides* as impious and savage wretches, ordered Irbyrtius, governor of Arachosia,† under whose directions he put them, to take every method to destroy them; so that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or set his eyes upon the Grecian seas.

* Antigènes, commander in chief of the *Silver Shields*, was, by order of Antigonus, put in a coffin and burned alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

† A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED.

THESE are the most remarkable particulars which history has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the comparison. We observe first, that though they were both strangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and respectable armies. Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his superior merit; whereas many disputed the post of honour with Eumenes, and

it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head; but those who acted under Eumenes never had recourse to him, till experience had shown them their own incapacity, and the necessity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years had been subject to Rome; the other was a Chersonesian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the whole

world. It should be considered too, that Sertorius the more easily made his way, because he was a senator, and had led armies before; but Eumenes with the disreputation of having been only a secretary, raised himself to the first military employments. Nor had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments also in the road to honour. Numbers opposed him openly, and as many formed private designs against his life; whereas no man ever opposed Sertorius in public, and it was not till towards the last, that a few of his own party entered upon a private scheme to destroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over when he gained a victory; and the dangers of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among those who envied his success.

Their military performances were equal and similar, but their dispositions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native spirit of contention; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in great security and honour, if he would not have stood in the way of the great; but he rather chose to tread for ever in the uneasy paths of power, though he had to fight every step he took: the latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs; but was forced to continue the war, to defend himself against his restless persecutors; for Antigonus would have taken pleasure in employing Eumenes, if he would have given up the dispute for superiority and been contented

with the station next to his; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his request to live a private citizen. Hence, the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the sake of gaining the chief command; the other involuntarily took the command, because he could not live peace. Eumenes, therefore, in his passion for the camp, preferred ambition to safety; Sertorius was an able warrior, but employed his talents only for the safety of his person. The one was not apprised of his impending fate; the other expected his every moment. The one had the candid praise of confidence in his friends; the other incurred the censure of weakness; for he would have fled,* but could not. The death of Sertorius did no dishonour to his life; he suffered that from his fellow soldiers which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet after the indignity of chains, he wanted to live;† so that he could neither escape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done; but, by having recourse to mean applications and entreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who was only master of his body.

* Upon notice of the intention of his enemies to destroy him after the battle, he deliberated whether he should give up the victory to Antigonus, or retire into Cappadocia.

† This does not appear from Plutarch's account of him. He only desired Antigonus either to give him immediate orders for his execution, or to show his generosity in releasing him.



AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS,* the son of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons ; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito,† a woman of an illustrious family ; the other much younger, named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown, by law, was to descend to Agis, Agesilaus had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education ; which, though hard in respect of diet, and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youths obedience. Hence, Simonides is said to have called that famed city, *the man-subduing Sparta*, because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to make the citizens obedient and submissive to the laws ; and she trained her youth as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes who are educated for the throne under the same necessity ; but Agesilaus was singular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects than any other of the kings ; having added to his princely

talents and inclinations a humane manner and popular civility.

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans distinguish with the name of love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty ; for, though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness, where it was necessary to obey. At the same time, it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to the principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg : but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person ; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, that defect made his spirit of enterprise more remarkable ; for he never declined on that account any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death

* Archidamus II.

† Lampito, or Lampido, was sister to Archidamus by the father's side. Vid. PLAT. ALCIBIAD.

he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aspect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for railery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable, even in age, than the young and the handsome. Theophrastus tells us, the *Ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pigmies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child she had for him, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of suspicion did not take notice of him as a son. Yet, in his last sickness, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead, than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea, and had great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus to the throne; alleging Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the severity of the Spartan discipline, joined with pleasure in the scheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man insisted, it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man should sit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was

to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire*
Thy boasted strength impair; far other woes
Than thou behold'st, await thee— borne away
By the strong tide of war——

Lysander observing upon this, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas: for that heaven did not consider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: the thing to be guarded against was the admission of a person who was not a genuine descendant of Hercules; for that would make the kingdom itself lame. Agesilaus added that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake;† ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing, however, that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power that his will was not disputed. The case was this: the principal authority was then in the hands of the *Ephori* and the senate. The *Ephori* were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings, as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a

* The two legs of the Spartan constitution were the two kings, which therefore must be in a maimed and ruined state when one of them was gone. In fact the consequence produced not a just and good monarch, but a tyrant.

† See Xenophon, *Grecian Hist.* book iii.

different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: if he was upon his throne administering justice, he rose up when the *Ephori* approached; if any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox,* as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them and ready to give them his assistance, if they desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *Ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that perfect harmony; so the great Lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the next proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and

without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony.† Some imagine that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice,‡ when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agésilas had not been long seated on the throne before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agésilas to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire Agésilas might be appointed to that command.

Agésilas received their proposals in full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans, for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly enfranchised *Helots*, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through the influence of Lysander, and Agésilas sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendship of Agésilas, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than raising him to the throne.

† Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty; and such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

‡ *Odyssey*, lib. viii.

* Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and passing the night there, he dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "You are sensible that, since Agamemnon, none has been appointed captain-general of all Greece, but yourself, the king of Sparta; and you are the only person who have arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, you command the same people, and go against the same enemies with him, as well as take your departure from the same place, you ought to propitiate the goddess with the same sacrifice, which he offered here before he sailed."

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior Being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor. In consequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Boeotians. The first magistrates of Boeotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of Boeotia. And the officers not only gave such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hope of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not answer the intention.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command, to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were sent to Asia, ever had greater sway, or were

more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies so much. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Agesilaus, with the stern, the short, and the authoritative manner of Lysander, they submitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because that attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers, than as counsellors to the king. Afterwards Agesilaus himself was piqued at it. For, though he had no envy in his nature, or jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he was apprehensive that if any great actions were performed, it would be imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had still been considered.

The method he took to obviate it was this. His first step was to oppose the counsels of Lysander, and to pursue measures different from those, for which he was most earnest. Another step was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the interest of that minister. In matters too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, those against whom Lysander exerted himself were sure to gain their cause; and they for whom he appeared could scarce escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly and of set purpose, Lysander perceived the cause, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who had greater interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver: and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus, you know very well how to lessen your friends." Agesilaus answered, "I know very well who wants to be greater

than myself." "But, perhaps," said Lysander, "that has rather been represented to you, than attempted by me. Place me, however, where I may serve you, without giving you the least umbrage." Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure, and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta,* and open the way to that high station to all the citizens. And it seems that he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in this expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit. But under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but afterwards thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition;† and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon could conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia, whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he, at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could

not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some great and memorable stroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tisaphernes by an artifice which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities; and made himself master of immense treasures; by which he showed his friends that to violate a treaty, is to despise the gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure: but, as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus, to raise that sort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to insist that every man of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and, instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have made, he soon got a numerous and respectable cavalry. For those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excused a dastardly rich man the service.‡

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white, by reason of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Whereupon Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons whom ye fight with;" and

‡ Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the famed courser of the king of kings;

Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)

To 'scape the wars, to Agamemnon gave
(Æthe her name), at home to end his days,
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise.

POPE, 11, xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horses or men.

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

† He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to their master for the step he had taken, since by the violation of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to Greece."

then pointing to the rich spoils, "Those are the things ye fight for."

When the season called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tisaphernes: that general, deceived himself. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had been imposed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his strength did not lie. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tisaphernes was forced to march thither in great haste with succours. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus, however, considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up; whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight: the Greeks pursued them, took their camp, and killed great numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security, and had all the satisfaction to see Tisaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greatest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums,* on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Agesilaus answered, "His country was the sole arbitress of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich his soldiers than himself; and the great honour among the Greeks

was to carry home spoils, and not presents, from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes, for destroying Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped, and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytable* from the magistrates of the Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as army, an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself. He was, indeed, (as Theopompus somewhere says) confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character: when he had the conduct of the navy given him he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been some time desirous of such a connection, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thousand horse, and two thousand men draughted from his light-armed troops; and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him so narrowly, that, with the assist-

* He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute; and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would persuade Agesilaus to accept the peace, and return home; the rather, because Tisaphernes, who was guilty of the first breach, was punished as he deserved.

ance of Herippidas,* the Spartan, at last he made himself master of his camp and all his treasures. Herippidas made it his business to examine what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked with a keen eye into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Agesilaus more nearly than this. Beside the pain it gave him to think he had lost Spithridates, and a considerable body of men with him, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanness, from which he had ever studied to keep both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness that might be publicly acknowledged; but he had a private and more sensible one, in his attachment to the son of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he had made a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more distant in his addresses. Then Agesilaus was sorry for the repulse he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at such a distance. His friends told him, he must blame himself for rejecting his former application. "He would still," said they, "be glad to pay his most obliging respects to you; but take care you do not reject them again." Agesilaus was silent some time; and when he had considered the thing, he said, "Do not mention it to him. For this second victory over myself gives me more pleasure than I should have in turning all I look upon to gold." This resolution held while Megabates was with him, but he was so much affected at his departure, that it is hard to say how he would have behaved if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apolophanes, of Cyzicus, at whose house they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed, with his friends, and

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus the second year of the war.

sat down upon the long grass under a shade, to wait for Pharnabazus.—When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins, and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly upon the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had just cause of complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for an answer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an answer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to the king of Persia, we treated him and his in a friendly manner: now we are enemies, you can expect nothing from us but hostilities. Therefore, while you, Pharnabazus, choose to be a vassal to the king, we wound him through your sides. Only be a friend and ally to the Greeks, and shake off that vassalage, and from that moment you have a right to consider these battalions, these arms and ships, in short, all that we are or have, as guardians of your possessions and your liberty; without which nothing is great or desirable among men."†

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: "If the king sends another lieutenant in my room, I will be for you; but while he continues me in the government, I will to the best of my power, repel force with force, and make reprisals upon you for him." Agesilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and rising up with him said: "Heaven grant that, with such sentiments as these, you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his son, who was behind, ran up to Agesilaus, and said, with a smile, "Sir, I enter with you

† He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future, avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province."—XEN. *Grec. War.* b. iv.

into the rites of hospitality:" at the same time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In process of time this Persian was driven from his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic games; but as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him.* In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence.—There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias is innocent, acquit him: if he is not innocent, acquit him on my account: however, be sure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigences of the state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he said, "How little consistent are love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure.

* Sometimes boys had a share in these exhibitions, who after a certain age were excluded the lists.

Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity: and whereas, on many occasions, we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or a harder bed than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle than when the Persian governors and generals, who had been insufferably elated with power, and rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion—

MARS is the god; and Greece reveres not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the *Ephori* had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which excited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians; and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed

into a foreign country.* I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, those Greeks fell short of great happiness, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

However, of all the actions of Agesilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a stronger instance of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He said, "It seems, my friends, that while we were conquering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence to the laws! No sooner was the *scytala* brought him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home, and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loss of him, that it was a strong confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedæmonians excelled in public, and the Athenians in private characters." For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet still he was a more desirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

* That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered till nothing but the shadow of those liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by ten thousand of the king's archers."† For the orators of Athens and Thebes having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they would have him pass as a friend or as an enemy?" All the rest received him with tokens of friendship, and showed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the Trallians,‡ of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage, demanded of Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver, and as many women. He answered the messenger ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedonia, who answered, "I will consider of it." "Let him consider," said he; "in the mean time we march." The king surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waste their territories. To the city of Larissa, indeed, he offered his friendship, by his ambassadors, Penocles and Scytha: but the people seized them and put them in prison. His troops so resented this affront that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of another mind. He said, "He would not lose one of his ambassadors for gaining all Thessaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder

† Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no share in that distribution.

‡ Beside the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at least, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap- Steph.) testifies.

that Agesilaus took this step, since, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was small in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the least. On the contrary, he said, with a deep sigh, "Unhappy Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave men with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might have conquered all the barbarians in the world!"

However, as the Pharsalians attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under mount Nartacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training, he had beaten people who reckoned theirs the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the Ephori, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it was not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, for which we were called out of Asia." At the same time he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cause a proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarce intrenched himself, when there happened an eclipse of the sun.* At the same time he received an account that Pisander was defeated at sea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He

was much afflicted with his own loss, as well as that of the public. Yet, lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to give out that Pisander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea,† and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also, putting themselves in order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Agesilaus, with whom he returned from Asia.

The first charge was neither violent nor lasting: the Thebans soon routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both hastened to their relief. At this instant Agesilaus might have secured to himself the victory without any risk, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass and then have charged them in the rear;‡ but borne along with his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumstance that he had those volunteers, and they could not have come more seasonably; for they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places

† In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephissus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought fifty-three years before.

‡ Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Agesilaus was never wrong.

* This eclipse happened on the twentieth of August, in the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, three hundred and ninety-two years before the Christian era.

with spears and swords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the spot. At last, finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre which at first they scorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pass; after which observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves much upon the battle, because, their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agésilas, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had seen the dead borne off upon their arms. Meantime he was informed that a part of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected when, under the conduct of Sparta, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides.*

Early next morning, Agésilas, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the music to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the same time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumstance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pithian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils he had taken in Asia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign

country, nor, in fondness for the fashions he had seen there, disdain those of his own. On the contrary, he showed as much attachment to the Spartan customs as those who never had passed the Eurotas. He changed not his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He ever let his doors remain, which were so old that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus.† Xenophon also assures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young ladies. These carriages, called *canathra*, and made use of by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins, or goat stags. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Agésilas: and Dicaearchus is greatly dissatisfied that neither her name is preserved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agésilas was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Prolyta.‡ We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca, to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in person. This he did to show the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expense.

Xenophon, so famed for wisdom, spent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the best knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he found out a conspiracy, which that

† Aristodemus, the son of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished eleven hundred years before the Christian era; so that the gates of Agésilas's palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood seven hundred and eight years.

‡ *Eupolia* and *Proauga*. Cod. Vulceb.

* In the battle of Coronea.

general had formed against him immediately after his return from Asia. And he was inclined to show the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an oration found among his papers, which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the perusal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to bury the oration with him." The advice appeared reasonable, and he suppressed the paper.

As for the persons who opposed his measures most, he made no open reprisals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power they soon showed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in consequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he used to assist them in their distress, and labour to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partisans instead of adversaries; so that at last he had no opposition to contend with. For his royal colleague Agesipolis,* being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Agesilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were at Sparta, eat at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in these attachments; on the contrary (as we have observed in the life of Lyncurgus,) such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and its characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Agesilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the address to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral. After which he marched

against Corinth† with his land-forces, and took the long walls: Teleutias assisted his operations by sea. The Argives, who were then in possession of Corinth, were celebrating the Isthmian Games: and Agesilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all that they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, desired him to undertake the exhibition, as president; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and stayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and some who had gained the prize before had the same good fortune a second time; others who were victorious then were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives must be, who, while they reckoned the presidency of those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this sort of diversions was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and public exercises of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his presence, and supported them with great zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, so much admired by the world, he seemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he would take some honourable notice of him. At last he said, "Do not you know me, sir?" The king casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly, "Are you not Callipedes the stage-player?" Another

† There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth; Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise in which Teleutias assisted did not succeed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus's resentment.

* Agesipolis was the son of Pausanias.

time, being asked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refused, and said, "I have heard the nightingale herself."

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter. And he was so vain of the appellation, that he made use of it in a letter to the king. "Menecrates Jupiter to king Agesilaus, health." His answer began thus: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, his senses."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno: and as he stood looking upon the soldiers who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, ambassadors came from Thebes with proposals of peace. He had ever hated the city; and now, thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the ambassadors, nor to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, revenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greatest losses his country had sustained for a long time: and beside being deprived of a number of brave men, there was the mortification, that their heavy-armed soldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Agesilaus immediately marched to their assistance; but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Boeotian ambassadors that he was ready to give them audience: Glad of the opportunity to return the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only desired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, provoked at the demand, answered "If you are desirous to see your friends in the elevation of success, to-morrow you shall do it with all the security you can desire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having shown the ambassadors, that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them: then he collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; taking care every day to move before it was light, and to

encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans,* he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he said, "The step he should take would be the very reverse; for they would be more afraid of war, when they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occasion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he said, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war.†

* The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Boeotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmonians for succours, who employed Agesilaus in that business.—XEN. Gr. Hist. book iv.

† The king of Persia's terms were: that the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and

His view in this was to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia should be free and independent. The subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the most unjustifiable manner, had seized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the same; particularly those who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asked him in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas had done so unjust a thing?" Hoping to bring the blame upon him. He scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; consider whether it is advantageous to Sparta. If its nature is such, it was glorious to do it without any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing;* and, if all men were just, there would be no need of valour." If any one, in the course of conversation, happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the great king;" he would answer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, whose purport was to propose a private friendship, and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it. He said, "The public friendship was suf-

great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms.—XEN. Hellen. lib. v.

This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Christ, 387.

* This is not the only instance, in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one provided his country is a gainer by it.

ficient; and while that lasted, there was no need of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by these honourable sentiments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and putting the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect, that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design was formed by Agesilaus, and the subsequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction. For when the Athenians had expelled the garrison,† and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus,‡ who upon the death of Agesipolis succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia. For Agesilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and consequently excused from service by law, was very willing to decline this commission. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes than good sense and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of fame by his Theban enterprise, was persuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his superiors he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea, by a sudden attack at land.

+ See XEN. Grec. Hist. l. v. whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

‡ Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and brother to Agesipolis.

It is said, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia.* They sent persons to him, who pretended to be much in the Spartan interest, and who by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition until he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with less valour, and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia. And we are told, that some light appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected some trifling booty, he returned with disgrace to Thespiæ.

Hereupon, the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of Sphodrias, but they found the magistrates had proceeded against him without their commands, and that he was already under a capital prosecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in so flagrant an act of injustice.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father: but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf because Sphodrias had been a strong adversary to Agesilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and entreated him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus, as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from speaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and

down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage enough to say, Cleonymus was a suppliant to him for his father. Agesilaus, knowing the attachment of his son to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it. For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case: he only said, "He would consider what would be the consistent and honourable part for him to act."

Archidamus, therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though before he used to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named Etymocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly disapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet he looked upon him as a brave man, and was sensible that Sparta had occasion for such soldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Agesilaus constantly spoke of the cause, in order to oblige his son. By this, Cleonymus immediately perceived with how much zeal Archidamus, had served him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was certainly a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him "not to mention it till he was a father himself."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who, to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son, obstructed the course of justice, and brought his country under the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus† disinclined to continue

* They feared the Lacedæmonians were too strong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hostility against the Athenians in, order to draw them into the quarrel.

† Xenophon says, the Ephori thought Agesilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. *Τὸν νῦν* has nothing to do in the text.

the war with the Thebans, he dropped the excuse which the law furnished him with, though he had made use of it before, and marched himself into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he felt the same from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day seeing him come off wounded, thus addressed him: "The Thebans pay you well for teaching them how to fight, when they had neither inclination nor sufficient skill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been; after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason, their ancient sage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetra*, forbade them to go to war with the same enemy often; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an obstinate spirit of private resentment,* that he sought to destroy the Thebans. For their part, they said, they were wearing themselves out, without any occasion, by going in such numbers upon this or that expedition every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Hereupon, Agesilaus, desirous to show that the number of their warriors was not so great, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the cryer summoned the trades to stand up one after another; the potters first, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the masons, in short all the mechanics. Almost all the allies rose up to answer in one branch of business or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exercise any manual art. Then Agesilaus smiled and said, "You see my friends, we send more warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the ci-

tadel,† he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. I swelled immediately, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ankle; upon which the pain abated; but the blood came so fast that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of service.

In the mean time the Spartans met with several checks both by sea and land. The most considerable loss was at Leuctra,‡ which was the first pitched battle the Thebans gained against them. Before the last mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among these was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philosophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He saw the other deputies were awed by the presence of Agesilaus, and he was the only one who preserved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and propositions. He made a speech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he showed that war tended to aggrandize Sparta, at the expense of the other states; and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality; because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and great attention, asked him, "Whether he thought it just and equitable that the cities of Bœotia should be declared

† Xenophon (Hellen. 337, 12 Ed. St.) says it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house.

‡ Some manuscripts have it *Tegyra*; but here is no necessity to alter the received reading; though Palmer insists so much upon it. For that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon, (Hellen. 340, 25,) that Agesilaus was not then recovered of the sickness mentioned in the text.

* This private resentment and enmity which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himself and his country.

free and independent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and spirit, answered him with another question, "Do you think it reasonable that all the cities of Laconia should be declared independent?" Agesilaus, incensed at this answer, started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to a perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the same state." Agesilaus, now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretence against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points as they could settle amicably, he dismissed them, leaving others of a more difficult nature to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *Ephori* sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they sent their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burden upon them, though they durst not contradict or oppose the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies appeared, as we have observed in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus,* the Spartan, opposed the war to the utmost of his power. But Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose. He prevailed to have hostilities commenced; in hopes, that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity to chastise them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæ-

mon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the 5th of *July*; which was only twenty days after. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his side. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was struck down three several times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and rose up as often; and at last was killed with his sword in his hand.†

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than the Greeks had ever boasted, in a battle with Greeks, the spirit and dignity of the vanquished was, notwithstanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And, indeed, if, as Xenophon says, "Men of merit, in their convivial conversations, let fall some expressions that deserve to be remarked and preserved, certainly the noble behaviour and the expressions of such persons, when struggling with adversity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The *Ephori*, though they

* Protheus proposed that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement; that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon such as should oppose the liberty of the cities. This, he said, would give the cause the sanction of Heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for as Xenophon adds, "It looked as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

† Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other. The former he commanded in person, to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus, advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with so much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, especially after Cleombrotus was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, they stayed to see the exercises, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded.*

Next morning, the names of the killed, and of those who survived the battle, being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air and a generous pride; while the relations of the survivors shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he showed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation both in his speech and countenance. The difference was still more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle were melancholy and silent; whereas those who had an account that their sons were slain repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameness of Agesilaus. The scruples they had on this occasion, discouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine displeasure had brought upon them the late calamity for expelling a sound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had giving them against it. Nevertheless, in regard of his virtue,

his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, besides marching them under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present they were at a loss what to do with those who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons *tresantas*.† In this case they did not choose to set such marks of disgrace upon them as the laws directed, because they were so numerous and powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection: for such persons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them. Any man that meets them is at liberty to strike them. They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half shaved and half unshaved. To put so rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were so numerous, and when the commonwealth had so much occasion for soldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation. But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep that day, and resume their authority the day following, and retain it for ever." By this means he preserved to the state its law entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. Then, in order to raise the youth out of the depression and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This restored Sparta to her spirits in some degree, and gave her reason to hope that she was not absolutely lost.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thousand men, exclusively of the light-armed, and those who, without arms, followed only for plunder. For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than seventy

* But where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for its support but either insensibility or affectation? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the state was an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementant*: the infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to last upon them, even when they had felt its fatal consequences.

† That is, persons governed by their fears.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

thousand that poured into that country. Full six hundred years were elapsed since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the first time, in all that long period, they had seen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to set foot in them before. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very suburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and other important posts; and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy, and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state at his accession, and he now saw her glory wither, and his own boasts come to nothing. It seems, he had often said, "No Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas, on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the banks of the Cephissus," Antalcidas answered, "But we never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this, was the repartee of a Spartan of less note to a man of Argos, who said, "Many of you sleep on the plains of Argos." The Spartan answered, "But not one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say Antalcidas was then one of the *Ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas, in order to

attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much swoln with the snow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was passing it, somebody pointed him out to Agesilaus; who after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped, and laid waste the country.

There had long been a disaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and siezed upon a strong post, called the *Issorium*, in which stood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place stormed immediately: but Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one servant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had mistaken their orders. I did not order you," said he "to take post here, nor all in any one place, but some there, (pointing to another place), and some in other quarters." When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their design was not discovered; and they came out and went to several posts as he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the *Issorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he discovered another, and much greater conspiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them to consider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass without notice. Agesilaus, therefore, having consulted with the *Ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *Helots* who were enlisted slunk away from the town, and deserted

to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go early in the morning to their quarters, and where they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Historians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some say the winter soon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a very disorderly manner: others affirm that the Thebans stayed full three months; in which time they laid waste almost all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Agesilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expenses of their return. For my part I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other historians knew nothing of.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controlling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and pursuing no measures but what were safe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, so one miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at. Their constitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony; but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus thought unnecessary to their happiness, they split upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Agesilaus now declined the service on account of his great age. But his son Archidamus, having received some succours from Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearless battle*; for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without losing a man himself.

Nothing could afford a greater proof

of the weakness of Sparta than this victory. Before, it had been so common and so natural a thing for the Spartans to conquer, that on such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described, the Ephori presented the person who brought them the first news of their success, with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field. But it gave them great concern, and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road

to Lacedæmon, from that Agesilaus was upon; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus of Thespiae, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not the time (as it had been) for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the boldest and most desperate efforts; insomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the least use of, staved off the present danger, and snatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occasion, and showed the children and the women how gloriously the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly distinguished himself that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through the by-lanes, to meet the enemy when they pressed the hardest, and every where repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadus, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his person, and just growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man he engaged with. Yet he received not one wound himself; whether it was that heaven preserved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adversaries as something more than human. It is said, the Ephori honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but, at the same time fined him a thousand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this there was ano-

ther battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned short, and gave him a wound with a spear, according to Dioscorides, or, as others say, with a sword;* and, indeed, the descendants of Anticrates are to this day called *machæritones*, swordsmen, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared so great, and was so acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his posterity; one of which, named Callicrates,† now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace. But Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the states; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not therefore be considered but as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he took every method to obstruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies from the people. This was at a time too, when he had the fairest opportunity to extricate himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip the power, which never before was at such a height, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Messene?

He still lost more reputation by taking a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was not thought suitable to one of the greatest characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to

* Diodorus Siculus, attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who he says, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account seems better grounded.

† Near five hundred years after.

more out his person, to give his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian, a rebel against the king his master. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and scars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable. For even honourable pursuits must have their times and seasons to give them a propriety; or rather propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteristic which distinguishes honourable pursuits from the dishonourable. But Agesilaus was not moved by this consideration, nor did he think any public service unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down and wait till death should strike his blow. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet, with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail; taking with him thirty Spartans for his counsellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Ægypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Agesilaus had raised great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little old man, and in mean attire, seated on the grass by the sea-side, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and observing, that this was the very thing represented in the fable,* "The mountain had brought forth a mouse." They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction, he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, and refused the pasties, the sweet meats, and perfumes; and when they pressed him to accept them, he said, "They might carry them to the *Helots*." Theophrastus tells us, he was pleased with

* Athenæus makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus answer, "You will find me a lion by and by."

the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt he asked the king for some of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was greatly disappointed at finding he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral: Tachos, however, reserved to himself the chief direction, both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance that occurred to Agesilaus; and others soon followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians; and, contrary to his dignity and nature, submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to shake off his yoke. That opportunity soon presented itself. Nectanabis, cousin of Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus, to entreat his assistance. He made the same application to Chabrias, and promised them both great rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease the resentment of Agesilaus, and keep him to the cause he had embarked in. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came here as a volunteer, and, therefore, may act as you think proper; but I was sent by my country, upon the application of the Egyptians, for a general. It would not then be right to commence hostilities against the people, to whom I was sent as an assistant, except Sparta should give me such orders." At the same time he sent some of his officers home, with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyp-

tian deputies the hearing, and this public answer, "That they should leave the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do what should appear most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis; covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of acting in the best manner for his country;* when that slight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery, and base desertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians by placing a regard to the advantage of their country, in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice, but the aggrandizement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But, at the same time, there rose up in Mendes another competitor, to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had soon assembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be despised for their utter ignorance of war. "It is not their numbers," said Agesilaus, "that I fear, but that ignorance and inexperience, you mention, which renders them incapable of being practised upon by art or stratagem: for those can only be exercised with success upon such as, having skill enough to suspect the designs of their enemy, form schemes to countermine them, and in the mean time, are caught by new contrivances. But he who has neither expectation nor suspicion of that sort, gives his adversary no more

opportunity than he who stands still gives to a wrestler."

Soon after the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis: and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in most of his operations; then his fears and suspicions increased, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well fortified town. Agesilaus could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides again, and at last return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a design he had formed.

The design was this. The enemy, as we have observed, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded so far in the work that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and said, "Now is the time, young man, for you to save yourself, which I did not choose to speak of sooner, lest it should be divulged and lost. The enemy with their own hands have worked out your security, by labouring so long upon the trench, that the part which is finished will prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the space which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon equal terms. Come on then; now show your courage: sally out along with us, with the utmost vigour, and save both

* Xenophon has succeeded well enough in defending Agesilaus with respect to his undertaking the expeditions into Egypt. He represents him pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some return for his many services to the Lacedæmonians; of restoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him, with respect to his deserting Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of treachery.

yourself and your army. The enemy will not dare to stand us in front, and our flanks are secured by the trench." Nectanabis now, admiring his capacity, put himself in the middle of the Greeks, and, advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agésilas having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler sometimes uses the same slight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, enclosed with two ditches that were very deep, and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge, with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground against being surrounded. The consequence was, that they made but little resistance: numbers were killed, and the rest fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs, and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agésilas, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though, at the same

time she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with great marks of honour, and, besides other presents, furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expenses of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a storm which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa, called the *Haven of Menelaus*; and there he died, at the age of eighty-years; of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. About thirty years of that time he made the greatest figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home. And as the attendants of Agésilas had not honey to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and so conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agésilas. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.



POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear, from the first to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

The sire I hated, but the son I love.*

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for his son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial

exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great, than that which appeared in the statues of that prince. So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus,† a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him said, "It was no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told that Flora, the courtesan, took a pleasure in her old age, in

* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus released*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, and Hercules, the son of Jupiter, released him.

† Lucius Marcus Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, lib. i. ep. 7.

speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminus, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his solicitations. At last, she told him, she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he seemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long sick through sorrow and regret. It is said that Flora was so celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But though he took his measures with so much care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies, who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said he often neglected, or gave up points essential to the public, to gratify his mistresses.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite was almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the physician, he eat something that was easy to be had. But this happened at a later period in life.

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna,* one

Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at supper, and it did not put him in the least confusion. He drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have gone to rest, he stole out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general, dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were ashamed to proceed, and all except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themselves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchised slaves, had secreted most of the money; and he took care to inform the magistrates of the particulars. He was accused, however, himself, of having taken some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Ascalum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he lost them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into and pillaged his house. In this affair, he maintained the combat well with his adversary at the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness above his years; which gained him so much applause that Antistius, the prætor, who had

viz. in the year of Rome 647, he must, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

* In the year of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born the same year with Cicero,

the hearing of the cause, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The proposal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had some notion of the thing from the pains which Antistius took for Pompey; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a signal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Tulasio*.

The origin of the term is said to have been this. When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome; and lest she should be taken from them as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Tulasio*. Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired; therefore, all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us the marriage of Talasius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account I can find of the term.*

Pompey in a little time married Antistia; and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding some unjust charges laid against him there, he took the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death; upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he fell upon his knees and offered him his ring, which was of no small value. The officer answered with great ferocity, "I am not come to sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless tyrant," and then killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage,

took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who, in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. As he observed that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene,† and the people readily repaired to his standard; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occasion, one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come from under the hands of the pedagogue, and all of a sudden is become a demagogue among you," they were so provoked, that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city. He enlisted soldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banner. So that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla,

* See more of this in the life of Romulus.

† Now the March of Ancona.

not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carius, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled, and threw the infantry into such disorder, that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took separate routes. In consequence of which, the cities concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interest of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio, the consul, advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground; so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey, having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander in chief. For he expected great honours from him.

and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The rest of his behaviour was as respectable as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his directions, he said, "It was not right to take the command from a man who was his superior both in age and character; but if Metellus should desire his assistance in the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only signalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the spirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age: just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt a cold plate sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or take any notice of the performances of his younger years; so the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themselves, yet being eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I shall forbear to mention, lest by dwelling upon his first essays, I should not leave myself room for those greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for

But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry *Æmilia*, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take *Æmilia*, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house, and at the same time to repudiate Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father whom she had lately lost on account of this cruel husband. For Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cause of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herself. This was an additional scene of misery in that tragical marriage: as was also the fate of *Æmilia* in Pompey's house, who died there in childbirth.

Soon after this, Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the party which opposed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island; Domitius had entered Africa; and many other persons of great distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pompey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by the armies that were there before him, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging, that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted to them by the Romans. He answered, "Will you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords?" His behaviour, too, to Carbo, in his mis-

fortunes, appeared inhuman. For, if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius,* the friend of Cæsar, writes, that Pompey likewise treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity.—For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside, and after he had walked with him till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to take him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others he suffered to escape, and even assisted some in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjustly, if he passed by the person that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked him, "Who was the guilty person?" and he answered, "I am the man. I persuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

* The same who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer; but his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to write a treatise to show that Cæsar was not the son of Cæsar.

POMPEY.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred store-ships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage: immediately after which seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival, he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The soldiers

commoded the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received not a speedy answer.—At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; not above three thousand of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *imperator*, but he said he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, if they chose to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the intrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valour and success. Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he intreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him

to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations; and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he would kill himself, if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends, "Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old age." This he said because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He, therefore, hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*: at the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorised by Sylla. It is certain he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters and in all his edicts, *Pompey the Great*; for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius,* for reconciling them to the senate after a violent dis-

* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

sension, and to Fabius Rullus for expelling some persons descended of enfranchised slaves,† who had been admitted into the senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that honour to any person who was not either consul or prætor.‡ Hence it was that the first Scipio, when he returned victorious from greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither consul nor prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both upon the dictator's power, and those honours of his friends." These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, "That more worshipped the rising than the setting sun;" intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the spirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let him triumph! Let him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on this occasion, it is said, that to mortify those who gave into it the more, he resolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the

† It was not his expelling the descendants of enfranchised slaves the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of *Maximus*; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called *tribus urbanae*. LIV. ix. 46.

‡ Livy (Lib. xxxi.) tells us, the senate refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph, for the same reason, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

gate too narrow, he gave up that design, and contented himself with horses.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said "he had rather give up his triumph than submit to flatter them." Whereupon Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus* to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla seeing him conducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addressed him: "I see young man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubtedly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard; for you have now made your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.

being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wanted to usurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminus the next day to despatch him; which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the Senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Caesar. But the son did not resemble the father, either in

war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet (as we are told,) by which he discovered that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a dis-tempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour which is necessary for seizing and making the best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of a banditti than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy-armed forces.

At this juncture, Pompey, having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus. Mean-time, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion, we are told, one of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," answered he, "but [*pro consulis*] as the representative of both consuls: intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nation as were not very firmly attached

to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave in to a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest; for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever: though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success: Pompey

received only a slight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he escaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the spoil.

Next morning at break of day both drew up again, to give the finishing stroke to the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterwards to knit again; so that Sertorius was often seen wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a torrent swelled with sudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *lictors* to lower the *fascēs*, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it; and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on account of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea; the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and go into those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible; because he wanted to be employed himself in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to solicit the command against Mithridates which was a

more honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Meantime Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers;* and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had, indeed, the same troops, the same magazine and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, nor are we to suppose him (as some will have it,) forgetful of the services he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed letters by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey fearing those letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finishing put Perpenna to death, and burned the papers without reading them. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *Servile* war was at the height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to come to battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interweaved

* It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was assassinated.

this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain, against Sertorius, was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army, but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign power, and maintain himself in it, as Sylla had done.* Hence, the number of those that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues; which was that he paid more attention to the commons than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-establish it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: for there never was any thing they had so much set their hearts upon, or longed for so extravagantly, as to see the tribunitial power put in their hands again.

* Cicero, in his epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made but little secret of this unjustifiable ambition. The passages are remarkable. *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit*: Εἰδῶ; σοι λεγῶ, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit. Lib. vii. ep. 9. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla; I tell you no more than what I know, for he makes no secret of it." And again, *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Sylla tulit animus ejus, et proscripserunt*. Ibid. ep. 10. "Pompey has been forming this infamous design for these two years past; so strongly is he bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars, Cæsar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror

So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about: knowing, that if any one should be beforehand with him in this design, he should never find any means of making so agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A second triumph was decreed him,† together with the consulship. But these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power. The strongest proof of his greatness was, that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf; declaring he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order.‡ However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the *forum* before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they

† He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and his great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

‡ L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says *again*, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before

received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance with all the badges of his office, as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horse in hand, to the front of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place; at the same time a joy mingled, with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows; "Pompey the Great, I demand of you, whether you have served all the campaigns required by law?" He answered with a loud voice, "I have served them all; and all under myself, as general." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations. At last, the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was increasing daily, Caius Aurelius,* a man who was of the equestrian order, but had never intermeddled with state affairs, one day, when the people were met in full assembly, ascended the *rostra*, and said, "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the consuls, that they must take care to be reconciled before they laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace; but Crassus went and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner. At the same time he addressed the people, as follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, there is nothing dishonourable or mean in making the first advances to Pompey, whom you scrupled not to dignify with the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a beardless youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs before he was a senator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former manner

* Ovatius Aurelius

of life; but Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed, he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy either to speak to him or see him, but in the midst of a crowd. He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of greatness and majesty, and he was persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration too. When, therefore, the latter has got the man who shone in camps, and triumphs into the assemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the same pre-eminence there, of course he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This soon appeared from the subsequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places, arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful

pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity; but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars; as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom; all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities they were masters of to four hundred.

Temples, which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo, at Claros, that, where he was worshipped, under the title of Didymæus,* that of the Cabiri, in Samothrace, that of Ceres,† at Hermione, that of Æsculapius, at Epidaurus, those of Neptune, in the Isthmus, at Tænarus, and in Calauria, those of Apollo, at Actium, and in the isle of Lencas, those of Juno, at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium.‡

They likewise offered strange sacrifices; those of Olympus I mean;§ and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day,|| being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested

* So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

† Pausanias (*in Laconic*), tells us the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*; and (*in Corinthiac*), he gives us the reason of her having that name.

“The Argives say, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colontas, having been saved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the name of ‘*hthonia*.’”

‡ The printed texts give us the erroneous reading of *Lucanium*, but two manuscripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

§ Not on mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaselis, in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

|| According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the sun is worshipped in that country

the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: they carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors*. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might be no more mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace; and as he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinus, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree,¶ which created him not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea, as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts.—There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Beside this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority

¶ This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend, Gabinus, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, were left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the consuls venturing to say,* "If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However, he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly broke up that day, without coming to any resolution.—

* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Acilius Glabrio.

When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day, he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which, he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours, and those of his lieutenants. But, as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundisium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation,

and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey would not suffer him to propose it. On the contrary, his speech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided such things as he wanted, he went to Brundisium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to re-embark immediately. As he went out of the gate he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was—

But know thyself a man, and be a god.

That without—

We wish'd, we saw; we loved, and we adored.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless hands, into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey, at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished, and the whole force of

the pirates destroyed, within three months at the farthest.

Beside the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass; and the prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again, and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature; and when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life; as beasts that are naturally wild, put off their fierceness, when they are kept in a domestic way. For this reason, he determined to remove the pirates to a great distance from the sea, and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground. He placed some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli,* which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants, by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which was a considerable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy, found fault with these proceedings; but his conduct with respect to Metellus, in Crete, was not agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus, who commanded in conjunction with Pompey, in Spain, and he had been sent into Crete some time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was the second nursery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there, and the remainder, who were besieged by him at this time, addressed themselves to Pompey, as sup

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

pliants, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within the distance he had a right to carry his arms from the sea. He listened to their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side; a circumstance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more absurd than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector

Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
Before Pelides.——

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, pursued his operations till he took the pirates, and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding, likewise, Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes; for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. This was subjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man. For the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper

Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a person to succeed him in his triumph, rather than in the war; but that was not the thing which affected the patricians most. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injustice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumstance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a tyranny.* They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke on the occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and called upon them many times from the *rostrum*, "To seek some mountain, as their ancestors had done, some rock whither they might fly for the preservation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was passed by all the tribes,† and almost the same universal authority conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla did not gain but by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occasion, he is said to have knit his brows, smote his thigh, and expressed himself as if he was already

* "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny so far."

† Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure him, than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed.

overburdened and wearied with the weight of power :* "Alas ! is there no end of my conflicts ? How much better would it have been to be one of the undistinguished many, than to be perpetually engaged in war ? Shall I never be able to fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness, and conjugal endearments ?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference, on that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partisans of that general that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment ; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to come to an interview ; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the *victors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered ; which the servants of Lucullus no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *fusces* with them. This seemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and

* Is it possible to read this without recollecting the similar character of our Richard the Third ?

congratulation : but they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation ; they proceeded to abusive language ; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power ; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who, he knew, were so mutinous that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucullus," he said, "were only mock battles, and he had fought with nothing but the shadows of kings ; but that it was left for *him* to contend with real strength and well disciplined armies ; since Mithridates had betaken himself to swords and shields, and knew how to make proper use of his cavalry.

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with phantoms and shadows of war : for like a dastardly bird, he had been accustomed to prey upon those whom he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a dying opposition. Thus he had arrogated to himself the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and Crassus. Consequently, he did not wonder that he was come to claim the honour of finishing the wars of Armenia and Pontus, after he had thrust himself into the triumph over the fugitive slaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome : and Pompey, having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach be-

cause it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water.* He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befall him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, was loath to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before

* Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before in the Macedonian war.

them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and, in their flight, vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and was dressed in a man's habit, of the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and beside that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle of Inora,† where the king's treasure and his most valuable moveables were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and bestowed them on those who repaired to him after their flight. He furnished each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poison, that none of them, against their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the meantime, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends its course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian sea. Pompey and young,

† It seems from a passage in Strabo, (B. xii.) that instead of *Inora*, we should read *Sinoria*: for that was one of the many fortresses Mithridates had built between the greater and the less Armenia.

Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to surrender himself. As he rode up to the intrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him to dismount, and enter on foot; assuring him that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his sword, and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, and his son on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said, "As to what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my time, I will restore you, on condition you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minas*, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination; and when he was invited to supper, he said, "He had no need of such honours from Pompey; for he could find another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long after Phraätes, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince, as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his father than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, justice should direct it."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia,

and marched himself to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moschian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians stretch more to the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage: but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose passed the Cynus.* The Cynus rises in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its course by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself, by twelve mouths, into the Caspian sea. Some say, the Araxes does not run into it,† but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers on the spot. Their king sent ambassadors to beg for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalize their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians: they escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed no less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties: for he

* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrus*, and so Plutarch probably wrote it.

† This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers

had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he repassed the Cynus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with pallisades all along the banks. And when he was over he had a large country to traverse which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling ten thousand bottles; and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas,* to the number of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but the skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis; who, at the beginning of the battle singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey in return run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. It is said that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians, from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a half-moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians;† for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: after which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea,

* This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

† The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

and march by its coasts into Hyrcania but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome that he was forced to return, when three days march more would have carried him as far as he proposed.—The next route he took was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymæans‡ and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Meantime the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Airanius, who put him to the route, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse with such magnificent furniture, as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the servants stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first fruits—a small earnest of the fortune he intended him. At last he suffered him-

‡ Strabo (Lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Messabatie, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

self to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and, as he rode through the city, cried out, "All this is mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him; and he told them, "They should not be surprised at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung STRATONICE.

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates; and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations, both of his own dreams and those of his wives; and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Monime. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius,* exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia. But most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius's histories as one of the worst of men.

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus; where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He had censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors use to grant after their wars are absolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the same Pompey did the very thing he had censured. As if he had finished the whole, he disposed of governments, and distributed other rewards among his friends. On that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was usually addressed.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passing from thence through Arabia to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "He would leave him a stronger enemy than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships to cruise about, and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and that death should be the punishment for such as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the best part of his army, he found the bodies of those Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius†

† Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred

and Mithridates still uninterred. He gave them honourable burial; and the omission of it seems to have contributed not a little to the aversion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria, which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king.* He reduced Judæa, and took its king Aristobulus prisoner. He founded some cities, and set others free; punishing the tyrants who had enslaved them. But most of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself he sent his friends: the Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they had about some territory to his decision, he sent three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated most of his faults, and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish the offences of those he employed, but he gave so gracious a reception to those who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill satisfied with all they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was Demetrius his enfranchised slave; a young man, who, in other respects did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. They tell us this story of him. Cato the philosopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his virtue and greatness of mind, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to custom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horse-

and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

* Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than twelve thousand Jews in the action. He entered the temple contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

back. When he approached the city, he saw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, and of boys on the other. This gave the philosopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want.—However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As soon as they were near enough to be spoke with, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them, "Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato said only, "Alas, poor city!" and so passed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends; and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house till his third triumph. Afterwards, he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome; and as an appendage to it, built himself a house, much handsomer than the former, but not ostentatiously great; for he who came to be master of it after him, at his first entrance was surprised, and asked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great used to sup?" Such is the account we have of these matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy who, according to all accounts, had so far

recovered his strength as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the meantime, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of packsaddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father; which he declares he has done for himself and the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that the features were disfigured. Yet some that were curious to examine

it distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but to propitiate the avenging deity,* sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius, the foster-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces, discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey, having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed the discourse to writing, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric, concerning *Invention* in general.† He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity, whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splend

* Nemesis.

† Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question! which limitation Cicero disapproved as much as his master Posidonius. Vide CICERO. de Invent. Rhet. Lib. i.

This Posidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad welcome in his house Mucia,* in his absence, had dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce without assigning his reasons either then or afterwards. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

As soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he de-

sired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. But Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear so openly for them, determined to gain him if possible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected the bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the great regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being desirous to get the consulship from Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was so public that Pompey was much censured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour in the state to those who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance: upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred galleys taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine desolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted

* Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæsar: for which reason, when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called his Ægisthus. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. *Lib. i. ep. xii.*

but to fifty millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions: and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money, and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, the wife of Tigranes himself; Aristobulus, king of Judæa; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons; and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene also appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small.

But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all respects, tell us he was at that time not quite thirty-four, whereas, in fact, he was entering upon the fortieth year.* Happy it had been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was blessed with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance of success brought its proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable. For the authority which he had gained by his merit he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a siege, every strong

work that is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by the influence of Pompey, turned that power, which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himself. It happened in this manner.

Lucullus, who had been treated so unworthily by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome met with the most honourable reception from the senate; and they gave him still greater marks of their esteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awaken his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the administration. But his spirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himself up to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and to the young plebeians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people. And, as if the connexion with him had been an honour instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the greatest use to him in the administration. And these wages he obtained. For when Cicero came to be in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and, shutting his gates against those that came to intercede for him, went out at a back door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this time Cæsar, returning from his province,† undertook an affair,

* It should be forty-sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August, in the year of Rome 647, and his triumph was in the same month in the year of Rome 692.

† It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor but two years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course; he therefore set himself to reconcile them. A thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was insidious, though deep laid and covered with the most refined policy. For while the power of the state was divided, it kept it in an *equilibrium*, as the burden of a ship properly distributed keeps it from inclining to one side more than another, but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when some were observing that the constitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under a great mistake: it was not their late disagreement, but their former union and connexion which gave the constitution the first and greatest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed his consulship. And he was no sooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner; when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him, before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, he put this farther question, "Then if any one shall with violence oppose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the people?" Pompey answered, "I will certainly come, and against those that threaten to take the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never said anything so obnoxious; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped

him. But it appeared by the subsequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion. For within a few days, to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Faustus, the son of Sylla; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his *fascēs*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon the head of Bibulus; and two tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became tame and tractable in all respects, and without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office;* contenting himself with publishing manifestos full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities which would befall the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state affairs, and betook

* Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it was more unseasonable for an old man to give himself up to luxury than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave up his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs: insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to engage in the boldest designs against him. For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius, having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is the man that seeks for a man?*" Who scratches his head with one finger?† And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, *Pompey*.‡

These things gave Pompey uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was

* *Τὸς ἀνὴρ ζητεῖ ἀνδρα*. *Ζητεῖν ἀνδρα* was a proverbial expression brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lantern at noonday; and, by degrees, it came to signify the loss of manhood, or the manly character, which loss Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

† *Uno scalpere digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman *petit maître*.

‡ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of the time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio, (Book xxxix.) that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

entirely unexperienced in that sort of war. That which afflicted him most was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of the servants of Clodius was observed to creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends how to disarm the anger of the senate and the valuable part of the citizens, Culleo advised him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that of the senate; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recall Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the senate: and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded, and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn, § he made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire, both by sea and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law was not made on account of the real scarcity of provisions, but that an artificial scarcity was caused for the sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new commission,

§ The law also gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. Dio, lib. xxxix

POMPEY.

might bring his power to life again, which was sunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom.*

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should be sent without an army, and with only two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the *forum* and before the senate-house, importing that Ptolemy himself desired that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretended, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity, at the persuasion of Theophanes who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions to enrich himself and the honour of new commands. But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was nothing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprang up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with these decisive words, "It is necessary to go; it is necessary to live." His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships; inso-much that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

* Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects, and forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom. DIO, ubi *supra*.

In the mean time the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently when he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were two hundred senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors, whose *fascæ* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had, for five years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended to stand for the consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said,†

† Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character—"It is not on account of the virtuous and the good that I desire any share in the magistracy, but that

"Perhaps he might, perhaps he might not." Crassus answered, with more moderation, "He should do what might appear most expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey, said, "Where is the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude nor respect for him who made him an orator, who rescued him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for the consulship, but in defence of liberty, against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. Consequently they were afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and sent a party of men well armed, who killed Melitus, the torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation; for, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds.* Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antius and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes on proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for

five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle.† These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her, or hers for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain; for the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, though at that age his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtesan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothers. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror and the agitation of her spirits,

I may be able to restrain the ill disposed and the seditious.

* This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations in the heavens while the people were assembled.

† Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connexion with Cæsar could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in childbed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a greater share, than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

—— High spirit of empire
Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
And dip their hands in dust.——

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when such a weight of power, and extent of command, could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares,* and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

* Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, where Neptune says to Iris,

“Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
Ethereal Jove extends, his high domain:
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep.”

Pope.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the People at that time, told them, “He had received every commission they had honoured him with sooner than he expected himself; and laid it down sooner than was expected by the world.” And, indeed, the dismissal of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now, being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to distrust him; on the contrary he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls.†

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion that it were better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by

† In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of those persons who paid them; so that scarce any office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

law, than to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul. "For by that means," said he "the commonwealth will either recover from her disorder, or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should never have been the first to propose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey, in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledging himself much indebted to his support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, "That Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; for what he had said was not out of regard to him; but to his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall inform you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.* She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married when very young, to Publius the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beside her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt

* The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

to produce in a woman of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection thought the concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a distressful case had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.

His first step was to bring those to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his house, by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when after having made law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embellish his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ears; declaring, "It was not right for him to hear such embellishments, contrary to law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and set aside before sentence was passed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey.†

A few days after, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, being under a

† Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence; as appears from his epistle to Murius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

criminal prosecution, watched Pompey going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner. But Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave him was, "That his importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach. But all the rest of his conduct merited praise, and he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent, that some consideration should be had of him too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy, undisturbed, the honours he had won, and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship.* Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, "That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose

the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town or village which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch, that he declared, "He had no need of arms, nor any extraordinary preparations against him, since he could pull him down with much more ease than he had set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces would turn, as soon as they saw the former; such was their hatred of the one, and their affection for the other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them,

* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clause which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, and he had fifteen hundred talents* for changing sides. So were also Curio, one of the Tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way; though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced to a private station," said he, "they will agree upon reasonable terms; or, if each retains his respective power, they will be satisfied. But he who weakens the one, without doing the same by the other, must double that force which he fears will subvert the government."†

Hereupon Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that a farther inquiry should be made into the sense of the senate. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion, "That Cæsar should disband his army,

and Pompey keep his," should draw to one side of the house, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he proposed, that the number of those should be taken, whose sense it was, "That both should lay down their arms, and neither remain in command;" upon which question, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest.‡ Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the people, who received him with the loudest plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus rose up and said, "I will no longer sit to hear the matter canvassed; but, as I see ten legions have already passed the Alps, I will send a man to oppose them in behalf of my country."

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the senate, and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, "Pompey, I charge you to assist your country; for which purpose you shall make use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist; others gave in their names in small numbers and with no spirit; and the greater part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunction of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give an account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed, that Cæsar should give up Gaul and disband the greater part of his army, and

‡ Dio, on the contrary, affirms that, upon this question, the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

* £310,685. sterling. With this money he built the stately *Basilica*, that afterwards bore his name.

† Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonstrated, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

keeping only two legions and the provinces of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree, that he should only keep one of those two legions. But Lentulus was against it, and Cato cried out, "That Pompey was committing a second error, in suffering himself to be so imposed upon;" the reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the same time news was brought, that Cæsar had seized Arminium, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horses and five thousand foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river, Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus asked him,* what forces he had ready for war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no great assurance, "That he had the two legions lately sent him back by Cæsar, and that out of the new levies he believed he should shortly be able to make up a body of thirty thousand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors should immediately be despatched to Cæsar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of no ill character, but who, by an insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey

"Stamp upon the ground, and call forth the armies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill timed reproach with great mildness; and when Cato put him in mind of the warning he had given him as to Cæsar, from the first, he said, "Cato indeed had spoken more like a prophet, and *he* had acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power: adding, that "those who were the authors of great evils knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it abandoned it as fast. These saw, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well disposed part of the city wanted strength, and that the ill disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him,

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundisium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. But at the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundisians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence,* he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the

Brundisians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned amongst the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero,† too, blamed him for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the steps which Cæsar took showed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length, for having taken Numerius,‡ a friend of Pompey's, he had sent him to Brundisium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms. But Numerius, instead of returning with an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the meantime Pompey assembled a great army; and at sea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for the land forces, he had seven thousand horses, the flower of Rome and Italy,§ all men of family, fortune,

† Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

‡ Cæsar calls him *Cn. Magius*. He was Master of Pompey's Board of Works.

§ Cæsar on the contrary says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were six hundred Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls, or Germans, eight hundred raised out of his own estates, or out of his own retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

* Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land side, but undertook to shut up the port by a *staccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape

and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers: he therefore exercised them during his stay at Beroëa, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to his javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force that few of the young men could dart it to a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus,* who had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus who was killed by him not very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul, a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextus, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the rest, to his standard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him than he

* It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar, who had loaded him with honours, and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it: "Labienus, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resented; and went over to Pompey."

rose up, and ran to meet him; considering it as a great proof of the justice of his cause, that, in spite of age and weakness, persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "That no Roman should be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was subject to the Romans be plundered," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundisium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he despatched Vibullus†, one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so there was not a wind that blew, which did

† In the printed text it is *Jubius*; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullus*, which is the name he has in Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. iii. Vibullus Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival, but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar

not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar, was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle. —Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's intrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand men upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been the enemy's had their general known how to conquer."*

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give into their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities, in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time; by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and counter-marches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his

* Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals. And we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action at last by the importunity of his officers and soldiers against his better judgment.

way through Athamania into Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled." Some called upon the general to pursue: some, to pass over into Italy. Others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the convenience of soliciting the great offices of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave his opinion, "That they ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls would soon submit to those who were masters there. What should affect Pompey still more was, that his native country, just by, stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant: and it could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her; that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, "That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this

was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accusers should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called him) who trafficked for provinces."

These and many other like sallies of ridicule had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's highpriesthood, as if their ad-

versary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army, who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath, "That he would not return from the battle, till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream. He thought, "he entered his own theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; after which, he adorned the temple of Venus the *Victorious* with many spoils." This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on the other alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expense. Besides, a panic* fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awakened him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it going his rounds.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa;† his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants, and beasts of burden were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence, that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching

* *Panic* fears were so called, from the terror which the god *Pan* is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

† Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch an opportunity, in some of those movements to fall upon them.

battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-wished day is come, on which we shall fight with men, and not with want and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which, among the Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts, and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

Pompey* placed himself in his right wing over against Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in

* It is somewhat surprising, that the account which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (Bell. Civil. lib. iii.) Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæsar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Sicilian legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right over against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand, but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and push them forward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For those fair young dancers," said he, "will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, but fly to save their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks,† and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advanced with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended only to his own concern. But some of the principle Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the

† Vide Cæs. ubi supra.

This, however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as he did.

dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards; in short, the strength and flower of the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted? Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms. Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge was Caius Crastinus,* who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning: and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of

the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many followed to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately lead on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal; upon which his cavalry retreated a little; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He

* So Cæsar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Crassianus*, in Appian *Crassinus*.

appeared like a man moonstruck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer.*

But partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;

Confused, unnerved, in Hector's presence
grown,

Amazed he stood with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he
threw,

And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew.
POPE.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew.† All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us, that of the

* In the eleventh book of the *Iliad*, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

† Cæsar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines the want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the *Universal History* erroneously say,) and after six miles march came up with them. But they, not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the convenience of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. Vide *Cæs. Bell. lib. iii. 30.*

regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed.‡

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed, in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were strewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got a little distance from the camp he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapped up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticus, a Roman citizen, who though not acquainted

‡ Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened that this man, the night before, dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters; when on a sudden, one of the mariners told him, he saw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments, and stretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticus stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard; for by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after, they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper; insomuch, that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

— The generous mind adds dignity
To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by th flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood, that the dispute was deci-

ded at Dyrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger finding her possessed with such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her, "She must make haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck she thus addressed him:—"I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas! how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who, before your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with five hundred galleys! Why did you come to see me, and not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded you too with such a weight of calamities? How happy had it been for me to have died before I heard that Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians? How wise, had I followed him, to the grave, as I once intended? What have I lived for since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the Great?"*

Such we are assured was the speech of Cornelia; and Pompey answered, "Till this moment Cornelia, you have experienced nothing but the smiles of fortune; and it was she who deceived you, because she stayed with me longer

* Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him: and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar.

O utinam Thalamos inveni Cæsaris issem!

If there were anything in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest: for Cornelia was the relict of Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus.

than she commonly does with her favorites. But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and make another trial of her. For it is no more improbable, that we may emerge from this poor condition, and rise to great things again, than it was, that we should fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable movables and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city, but he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus, the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and express some doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and turning the discourse, encouraged him to hope better things; that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments: else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by showing, that the state, and indeed the constitution, was in such disorder, that it was necessary it should be changed into a monarchy. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that, if you had conquered, you would have made a better use of your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of heaven to its superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course, without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and, beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near a fleet that

in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be before hand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He, therefore, began to think of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia, as the most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes, of Lesbos, observed, it was madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three days' sail. Besides, Ptolemy,* who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account: and should he go then and place himself in the hands of the Parthians, the most perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong measure it would be, if, rather than trust to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the second place of eminence, he would venture his person with Arsaces,† by whom

* This was Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this passage it appears, that Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Crassus.

even Crassus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely absurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio, among barbarians, who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where, if she escaped unviolated, it would be believed she did not, after she had been with those who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is said, this last consideration only prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is some doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus, with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen: and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider, that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch; by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric; and by Achilles, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence over him, and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception; and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey

may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands: the best method, therefore, is to send for him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achilles. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened, and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves, named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achilles had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!

Though FREE as air before——

These were the last words he spoke to him.

As there was a considerable distance

between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said, "Methinks, I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier;" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise him with more ease, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which Salvius and Achilles also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face; and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day.*

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale, as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them. The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped

it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat; which though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up, and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it; that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country; but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing some of the last honours† to the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his remains upon this shore?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou mayest be the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achilles and Pothinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt, but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he

* Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate, that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment on the providential determination of the Supreme Being. Indeed he fell a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

† Of teaching and wrapping up the body

went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch, in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba.*

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all consideration of his character, had less justice done him by historians than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly, in its

original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who rose after the established monarchy, have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcilable to the prejudice which appears against him; or rather to the reluctance which they have shown to that praise which they seem to have felt that he deserved: when the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of his interests had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of these two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel, we shall previously take a short survey of the difference in their character.

In the first place, Pompey rose to power, and established his reputation, by just and laudable means; partly by the strength of his own genius, and partly by his services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of despotism; whereas Agesilaus came to the throne by methods equally immoral and irreligious: for it was by accusing Leotychidas of bastardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king.*

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and took care to see his remains honourably interred, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from Lepidus; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Faustus, the son of Sylla. On the other hand, Agesilaus shook off Ly-sander upon a slight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than those he had rendered him; whereas Agesilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Ly-sander's means, and afterwards captain-general of Greece.

In the third place, Pompey's offences against the laws and the constitu- n

were principally owing to his alliances, to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio (whose daughter he had married) in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passions of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians; but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was visibly for the sake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distresses upon the Spartans, through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment; for such was the spirit that kindled the Boeotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortunes, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of that warning.† Nay, supposing Leoty-

† It is true, the latter part of Agesilaus's reign was unfortunate, but the misfortunes were owing to his malice against the Thebans, and to his fighting (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the same enemy so frequently, that he taught them to beat him at last.

Nevertheless, the oracle, as we have observed in a former note, probably meant the

* See the Life of Agesilaus

chidas a mere stranger, and as much a bastard as he was; yet the family of Eurtyon could easily have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious, nor maimed, had not Lysander been industrious enough to render the oracle obscure for the sake of Agesilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus, when, in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws should be silent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can possibly be compared to it. On the contrary, he thought himself exempted from observing the laws he had made, and that his transgressing them showed his friends his superior power: whereas Agesilaus, when under a necessity of contravening the laws, to save a number of citizens, found out an expedient which saved, both the laws and the criminals. I must also reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *scytale*, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his success. For he did not, like Pompey, serve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatness; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced such power and so much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were so numerous, the armies he led so powerful, and the pitched battles he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not compare the victories of Agesilaus with them; though that historian, on account of his other excellences, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes, and destroyed Messene; the former the city from which his family sprung, the

latter Sparta's sister colony;* and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itself. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, bestowed cities on such as were willing to change their way of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather chose to make him an ally; on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, "I prefer the glory that will last for ever, to that of a day."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue is to be decided by such actions and counsels as are most characteristic of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he never abandoned his city, though it was besieged by seventy thousand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppose them with, and those lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey† upon Caesar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens in a defenceless state; when he ought either to have stayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror might impose, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it insupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That

* For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Messene was a colony of the Heraclides, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French translations have mistaken the sense of this passage.

† Here is another egregious instance of Plutarch's prejudice against the character of Pompey. It is certain that he left not Rome till he was well convinced of the impossibility of maintaining it against the arms of Caesar. For he was not only coming against it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned, but he had rendered even a siege unnecessary, by a previous distribution of his gold amongst the citizens.

lameness of the kingdom, in having but one king instead of two, and not the lameness of the king.

he considered him, and all the other inhabitants, as his prisoners."

If it is the principal business of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker, Agesilaus understood that rule perfectly well, and, by observing it, continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage; on the contrary, he suffered Cæsar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land. The consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provinces, and the sea itself, when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this case, it reflects the greatest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to those who stayed and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greatest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced, by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to risk the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it?—If he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Thessaly as a dishonour. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of

the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had no less tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions: nor were the calumnies and slanders he met with in Egypt from the madness of the king less grating, when he advised that prince to lie still for a time. Yet by pursuing the sage measures he had first fixed upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her; nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterward. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence: and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who drew him into it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action, under pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor, in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that marked their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks. So that if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.



ALEXANDER.

WE shall now proceed to give the Lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar, who overthrew Pompey; and, as the quantity of material is so great, we shall only premise, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a more careless hand; so we must be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their labours and achievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a descendant of Hercules by Caranus,* and of Æacus by Neoptole-

* Caranus the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, made himself master of Macedonia in the year before Christ 794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-second in descent from Caranus; so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight genera-

tions. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the mysteries at Samothrace: and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she was left an orphan. The night before the consummation of the marriage, she dreamed, that a thunder-bolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared. And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion. Most of the interpreters believed the dream announced some reason to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct. But Aristander of Telmesus said, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant; for a seal is never put upon any thing that is empty: and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lionlike courage. A serpent was also seen lying by Olympias as she slept; which is said to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than anything, insomuch that he seldom repaired to her bed afterwards; tions. The descent by his mother's side is not so clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister to Arymbas.

whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces because he thought them taken up by some superior being.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus, and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mont Hæmus; from whom the Greek word *threscuein* seems to be derived, which signifies the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of those inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents, which, often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the *thyrsuses* and garlands of the women, struck the spectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this appearance, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi; and we are told, Apollo commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is also said, he lost one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a serpent. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander never leave embroiling me with Juno?"

Alexander* was born on the sixth of Hecatombœon† [July], which the Ma-

* In the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, before Christ 354.

† Ælian (Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 25.) says expressly, that Alexander was born and died in the sixth day of the month Thargelion. But supposing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombœon, yet not that month, but Bædromion then answered to the Macedonian month Lous; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, still preserved in

cedonian: call *Lous*, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned; upon which Hegesias the Magnesians has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames. "It is no wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was burned, when she was at a distance, employed in bringing Alexander into the world." All the *Magi* who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, "That the day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa,‡ and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race-horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it, by assuring him, that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled him were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter, armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs

the Orations of Demosthenes (in Orat. de Corona). In aftertimes, indeed, the month Lous answered to Hecatombœon, which, without doubt, was the cause of Plutarch's mistake.

‡ This is another mistake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third Olympiad; for which we have again the authority of Demosthenes, who was Philip's cotemporary (in Orat. cont. Leptinem), as well as of Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi.

of *Aristæxenus*, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant that they perfumed his under garments. For, as *Theophrastus* conjectures, it is the concoction of moisture by heat which produces sweet odours; and hence it is that those countries which are driest, and most parched with heat, produces spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence showed itself at an early period; for, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic race?" (for he was swift of foot) answered, "Yes, if I had kings for my antagonists." It appears that he had a perfect aversion to the whole exercise of wrestling.* For, though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapsodists too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing or to the *Pancratium*.†

Embassadors from Persia happening

* *Philopœmen*, like him, had an aversion to wrestling, because all the exercises which fit a man to excel in it make him unfit for war.

† If it be asked how this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling, the answer, is, the *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia: he desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing in comparison of the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some strong town, or won some great battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be less room for him to distinguish himself. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as a diminution of his scene of action; for he did not desire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure; but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exercise of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. *Leonidas*, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great severity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and business of preceptor was *Lysimachus*, the *Acarmanian*; a man who had neither merit nor politeness, nor anything to recommend him, but his calling himself *Phœnix*; *Alexander*, *Achilles*; and *Philip*, *Peleus*. This procured him some attention, and the second place about the prince's person.

When *Philonicus*, the *Thessalian* offered the horse, named *Bucephalus*,

in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents,* the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to see some trial made of him. The horse appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was displeased at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and showing great uneasiness, he said, "Young man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew more than they, or could manage the horse better."—"And I certainly could," answered the Prince. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed; but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold of the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him a going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in

a full gallop, and pushed him on both with voice and spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and kissing him, said, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy thy abilities; for Macedonia is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to anything, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius, (to use the expression of Sophocles) required

The rudder's guidance and the curb's restraint.

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his son was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery.† He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations; where they still show us Aristotle's stone, seats and shady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not communicate to every common scholar.‡ For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books, in which those

* That is £2,518. 15s. sterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro, (*de Re Rustic.* l. iii. c. 2.) viz. that Q. Axius, a senator, gave four hundred thousand sesterces for an ass; and still more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that some horses in Arabia were valued at a hundred thousand crowns.

Pliny, in his Natural History, says, the price of Bucephalus was sixteen talents.—*Sedecem talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharsalli grege emptum.*

Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 42.

† Pliny the elder and Valerius Maximus tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Aristotle was very old.

‡ The scholars in general were instructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines. Vide AUL. GELL. lib. xx. cap. 5.

points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it:--

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong in publishing the *acromatic* parts of science.* In what shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge which we gained from you, be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the superior parts of learning, than in the extent of power and dominion. Farewell."

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact, his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner, that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it others; it serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

It appears also to me, that it was by Aristotle rather than any other person, that Alexander was assisted in the study of physic, for he not only loved the theory, but the practice too, as is clear from his epistles, where we find that he prescribed to his friends medicines and a proper *regimen*.

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The *Iliad*, he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called the *casket copy*.† Onesicritus informs us, that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote to Harpalus for a supply; who sent him the works of Philistius, most of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and

* Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

† He kept it in a rich casket found among the spoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after the death of Alexander. "Darius," said Alexander, "used to keep his ointments in this casket; but I, who have no time to anoint myself, will convert it to a nobler use."

the Dithyrambics of Telestus‡ and Philoxenus.

Aristotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he said himself, he had no less affection for him than for his own father: "From the one he derived the blessing of life, from the other the blessing of a good life." But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion. He never, indeed, did the philosopher any harm; but the testimonies of his regard being neither so extraordinary nor so endearing as before, he discovered something of a coldness. However, his love of philosophy, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he sent Xenocrates,§ and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia and keeper of the seal. The Medarill^{||} rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people, collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the *acred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was shown near the Cephissus, called, *Alexander's oak*, because his tent had been pitched under it; and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of great talents,

‡ Telestus was a Poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristatos, the Syconian tyrant. Protogenes was sent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's displeasure; but the celerity and excellence of his execution saved him. Philoxenus was his scholar. Philistius was an historian often cited by Plutarch.

§ The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back; telling the giver he had more occasion for it himself because he had more people to maintain.

We know of no such people as the *Medarill*; but a people called *Mædi* there was in Thrace, who, as Livy tells us (l. xxvi.) used to make incursions into Macedonia.

made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander *king*, and him only *general*. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son; all of which were heightened by Olympias, who being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion:—Philip fell in love with a young lady, named Cleopatra, at an unreasonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attulus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra, might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander provoked at this, said, “What then, dost thou take me for a bastard?” and at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine he had drank made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said, “Men of Macedon, see there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe into Asia! he is not able to pass from one table to another without falling.” After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In the mean time, Demaratus, who had engagements of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could speak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first civilities, Philip asked him “What sort of agreement subsisted among the Greeks?” Demaratus, answered, “There is, doubtless, much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have filled your own house with so much discord and disorder.” This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event soon disturbed their repose. Pexodorus, the Persian

governor in Caria, being desirous to draw Philip into a league, offensive and defensive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Aridaeus, the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus into Macedonia to treat about it.—Alexander's friends and his mother now infused notions into him again, though perfectly groundless, that by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Aridaeus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness these suspicions gave him, sent one Thessalus, a player, into Caria, to desire the grandee to pass by Arideus, who was of spurious birth, and deficient in point of understanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleased with this proposal. But Philip no sooner had intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of his most intimate friends and companions, and, in his presence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanness of spirit, in thinking of being son-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the same time he wrote to the Corinthians,* insisting that they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Niarchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of the prince, he banished. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negotiation, Pausanias being abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having justice done him for the outrage, killed Philip, who refused that justice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not escape uncensured. It is said, that when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of answer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea.†

* Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

† The persons meant in the tragedy were

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished; and he expressed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his absence.

He was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook subjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confusion, rather than produced any firm settlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous state. The young king's Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at least to make no attempts upon it with the sword; and to recall the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to security, and a thorough establishment of his affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity. For he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the least article, he would be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a stop to the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to show them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy, while I

was in Illyricum, and among the Triballi, and a stripling when in Thessaly, but I will show him before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by sound of trumpet, all men to join them who chose to assist in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces vastly superior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength. But when the Macedonian garrison fell down from Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the rest of Greece, astonished and intimidated by so dreadful a punishment of the Thebans, would submit in silence. Yet he found a more plausible pretence for his severity; giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in pursuance of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Plateæ. He exempted the priests all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hospitality, the posterity of Pindar, and such as had opposed the revolt: the rest he sold for slaves, to the number of thirty thousand. There were above six thousand killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city suffered were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour. The soldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether she had not some gold and silver concealed. She said she had; and taking him alone into the garden, showed him a well, into which, she told him, she had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The

Jason, Creusa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arrian called Eurydice, l. ii. c. 14.

officer stooped down to examine the well; upon which she pushed him in, and then despatched him with stones. The Thracians, coming up, seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. The king demanded who she was? She answered, "I am the sister of Theagenes, who, in capacity of general, fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and fell in the battle of Chæroneia." Alexander, admiring her answer and the bold action she had performed, commanded her to be set at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes; for, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feasts of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindness into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is said the calamities he brought upon the Thebans gave him uneasiness long after, and, on that account, he treated many others with less rigour. It is certain he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he requested of him. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and

philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun; and at the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him "If there was anything he could serve him in?" "Only stand a little out of my sunshine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauspicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his question. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office; but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he went himself and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, she said, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander, hearing this, said, "He wanted no other answer, for he had the very oracle he desired."

When he was on the point of setting out upon his expedition, he had many signs from the divine powers. Among the rest, the statue of Orpheus in Libethra,* which was of cypress wood, was in a profuse sweat for several days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill presage; but Aristander bade them dismiss their fears.—"It signified," he said, "that Alexander would perform actions so worthy to be celebrated, that they would cost the poets and musicians much labour and sweat."

* This Libethra was in the country of the Odrysæ in Thrace. But beside this city or mountain in Thrace, there was *the Cave of the Nymphs of Libethra* on Mount Helicon, probably so denominated by Orpheus.

As to the number of his troops, those that put it at the least, say, he carried over thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and they who put it to the most, tell us, his army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence and pay, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents; Duris says, he had no more than would maintain them one month; but Onesicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

However, though his provision was so small, he chose, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumstances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village: to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a post. When in this manner he had disposed of almost all the estates of the crown, Perdiccas asked him "What he had reserved for himself?" The king answered "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we who share in your labours will also take part in your hopes." In consequence of which, he refused the estate allotted him, and some others of the king's friends did the same. As for those who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he served them with equal pleasure; and by these means most of his Macedonian revenues were distributed and gone. Such was the spirit and disposition with which he passed the Hellespont.

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends, naked, according to the custom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to set forth his praise." As he went about the city to look upon the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris's lyre? "I set but little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which he sung the glorious actions of the brave.*"

* This alludes to that passage in the ninth book of the Iliad:

In the meantime, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditional usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Dæsius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *the second Artemisius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he said, "The Hellespont would blush, if after having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus." At the same time he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks, which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on, however, till by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part, because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Persian troops charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished both by his buckler, and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint; but he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhœsaces, and

"Amused at ease the godlike man they found,
Pleased with the solemn harp's harmonious sound;

With thee he soothes his angry soul, and sings
The' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings."
POPE.

Spithridates, two officers of great distinction, attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon his breastplate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle axe, which cut off his crest, with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared. But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Eucephalus. In this dispute he had more of his men killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair. The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse;* whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four men killed,† nine of which

* Some manuscripts mention only ten thousand foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505). Arrian (p. 45.) makes the number of horse killed only a thousand.

† Arrian (47.) says, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed; and of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five *friends*, who had statues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia,

were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a statue to each of them in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he sent them presents out of the spoil; to the Athenians in particular he sent three hundred bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS (EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS), OF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians he sent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, made its submission. All the other cities followed its example except Halicarnassus and Miletus; these he took by storm, and subdued all the adjacent country. After this, he remained some time in suspense as to the course he should take. One while he was for going with great expedition, to risk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for first reducing all the maritime provinces; that when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

There is a spring in Lycia, near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its course of its own accord, and overflowing its banks, threw up a plate of brass, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, signifying "That the Persian empire would one day come to a period, and be destroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he hastened to reduce all the coast as far as Phœnice‡ and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it was by the interposition of Heaven that the sea retired before Alexander, which, at other times ran there with so

from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

‡ This Phœnice, as Palermius has observed, was a district of Lycia or Pamphylia

strong a current, that the breaker-rocks at the foot of the mountain very seldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleasant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies.

How like great ALEXANDER! do I seek
A friend? Spontaneous he presents himself.
Have I to march where seas indignant roll?
The sea retires, and there I march.

But Alexander himself, in his Epistles, makes no miracle of it;* he only says, "He marched from Phaselis, by the way called *Climax*."

He had stayed some time at Phaselis; and having found in the market place a statue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening when he had drank freely at supper, in masquerade, and covered the statue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he formerly had a connection, by means of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot fastened with cords, made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man who should untie the knot." Most historians say that it was twisted so many private ways, and the ends so artfully concealed within, that

* There is likewise a passage in Strabo, which fully proves that there was no miracle in it—"Near the city of Phaselis," says he, "between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a passage by the seaside, through which Alexander marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and lies between the shore and the mountain *Climax*, which overlooks the Pamphylian sea. It is dry at low water, so that travellers pass through it with safety; but when the sea is high it is overflowed." It was then the winter season, and Alexander, who depended much upon his good fortune, was resolved to set out without staying till the floods were abated; so that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water."—STRAB. lib. xiv.

Josephus refers to this passage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms, that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was brought him of the death of Memnon,† who was the most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the *Magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him than with a regard to probability. He dreamed "That he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, had formerly worn, when one of the king's couriers, acted as his servant; after which Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and there suddenly

† Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek Islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss who to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right. "While you, Sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the empire can never be in great danger. Let me, therefore, exhort you never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprise; and if you will honour me with the command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed.—DION. SIC. l. xvii. Q. CURT. l. iii.

disappeared.* By this, Heaven seemed to have signified, that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who, of a simple courier, became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whose water is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure, as of the danger they must incur in the application; for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not succeed, would suspect them of some bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, saw how desperate the king's case was, as well as the rest; but, beside the confidence he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him, in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the meantime, Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him "To beware of Philip, whom," he said, "Darius had prevailed upon, by presents of infinite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, to take him off by poison." As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without the least marks of suspicion, and at the same time put the letter in his hands. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking.—They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king,

with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look showed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity; another while he threw himself down by the bedside, entreating his master to be of good courage and trust to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was so strong and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life. But afterwards he was soon relieved by his faithful physician,* and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius, a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that case the enemy would fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape him." "If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no farther uneasiness; for he will come to seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect, Darius set out for Cilicia, and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him; but happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back! Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits; while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while, at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander

* In three days time.

as to the scene of action; but the skilful disposition of his forces, contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out its right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and, fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only says, he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences followed it.

The victory was a very signal one: for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy.* Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius; and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuer only by four or five furlongs.—Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him, "Let us go and refresh ourselves, after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of Darius." "Nay, rather," said one of his friends, "in the bath of Alexander; for the goods of the conquered are, and should be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basins, vials, boxes, and other vases, curiously wrought in gold, smelled the fragrant odours of essences, and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments, he turned to his friends and said, "This, then, it seems, it was to be a king!"†

* Diodorus says, a hundred and thirty thousand

† As if he had said, "Could a king place

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes, than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them "That Darius was not dead; that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his dispute with Darius was only for empire; and that they should find themselves provided for in the same manner as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were customary. They had as many domestics, and were served in all respects, in as honourable a manner as before; indeed their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple, or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

It is said, the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was such, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her

his happiness in such enjoyments as these?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Persian luxury

husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus was grandson to a king of Persia.* According to Aristobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connexion with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eyesores these Persian women are!" He found a countercharm in the beauty of self government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, passed them by, as so many statues.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coast, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to sell, and desired to know whether he chose to buy them. Alexander was so much incensed at this application, that he asked his friends several times, "What base inclinations Philoxenus had ever seen in him, that he durst make him so infamous a proposal?" In his answer to the letter, which was extremely severe upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to dismiss Theodorus and his vile merchandise together. He likewise reprimanded young Agnon, for offering to purchase Crobylus for him, whose beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed, that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of some of his mercenaries, who served under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair, and if they were found guilty to put them to death, as no better than savages bent on the destruction of human kind. In the same letter, speaking of his own conduct, he expresses himself in these terms: "For my part, I have neither seen nor desired to see the wife of Darius; so far from that, I have not suffered any man to speak of her beauty before me." He used to say, "That sleep and the commerce with the sex were the things that made him most sensible of his mortality," for he considered both weariness and pleasure as the natural effects of our weakness.

* Son of a king of Persia's daughter.

He was also very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he said to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria.† Ada, to express her affectionate regards, sent every day a number of excellent dishes and a handsome dessert; and at last she sent him some of her best cooks and bakers. But he said, "He had no need of them; for he had been supplied with better cooks by his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to dress his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his supper." He added, that "the same Leonidas used to examine the chests and wardrobes in which his bedding and clothes were put, lest something of luxury and superfluity should be introduced there by his mother."

Nor was he so much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was supposed so, because he passed a great deal of time at table; but that time was spent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing some long discourse. Besides, he never made these long meals but when he had abundance of leisure upon his hands. When business called, he was not to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining spectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by some of these things. His life sufficiently confirms this assertion; for, though very short, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he was risen he sacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner sitting. The rest of the day he spent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full speed. Sometimes also

† This Princess, after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus, and his consort Artemisia, who died without children succeeded to the throne with her brother Hidaeus, to whom she had been married. Hidaeus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, de-throned her, and after his death his son-in-law Orontes seized the crown. But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions.

he diverted himself with fowling and fox hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreshed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the stewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handsome manner for supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he eat in a recumbent posture. He was very attentive to his guests at table, that they might be served equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation than drinking. His conversation, in many respects, was more agreeable than that of most princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of society. His only fault was his retaining so much of the soldier* as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own actions, but suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. These wretches were an intolerable burden to the rest of the company, who did not choose to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought him from distant countries and seas, he would send some to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expense rose with his fortune, till it came to ten thousand *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it stood; and he did not suffer those that invited him to exceed that sum.

After the battle of Issus he sent to Damascus, and seized the money and equipages of the Persians, together with their wives and children. On that occasion the Thessalian cavalry enriched themselves most. They had, indeed, greatly distinguished themselves in the action, and they were favoured with this commission, that they might have the best share in the spoil. Not but the rest of the army found

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, used always to put the rodomontades in the character of a soldier. At present the army have as little vanity as any set of people whatever.

sufficient booty; and the Macedonians having once tasted the treasure and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Persian wealth with all the ardour of hounds upon scent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their submission: only Tyre held out. He besieged that city seven months, during which time he erected vast mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with two hundred galleys. He had a dream in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed,† “That Apollo declared he would go over to Alexander, because he was displeased with their behaviour in the town.” Hereupon, the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains, and nailed the feet to a pedestal; not scrupling to call him an *Alexandrist*. In another dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance; and when he advanced to take him the savage eluded his grasp. However, at last, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters, plausibly enough, divided the Greek term for *satyr* into two, *Sa Tyros*, which signifies *Tyre is thine*. They still show us a fountain, near which Alexander is said to have seen that vision.

About the middle of the siege he made an excursion against the Arabians, who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great risk of his life, on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor less valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their

† One of the Tyrians dreamed, he saw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magistrates, upon mature deliberation, resolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii.

horses, to march up on foot, the rest of the party got far before Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great distance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in an exposed and dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his swiftness and activity, as well as accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a share in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that sat watching it, he seized a lighted brand, and hastened with it to his party, who soon kindled a great fire. The sight of this so intimidated the enemy that many of them fled, and those who ventured to attack him were repulsed with considerable loss. By these means he passed the night in safety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in this manner. Alexander had permitted his main body to repose themselves, after the long and severe fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the meantime, Aristander, his principal soothsayer, offered sacrifices, and one day, upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with ridicule and scorn. The king perceiving he was disconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his ministers to completion, gave orders that the day should not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the same time he called out his forces by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he at first intended. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp quitted it to have a share in it, and to support their fellow-soldiers; insomuch that the Tyrians were forced

to yield, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then going to perch upon the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event answered Aristander's interpretation of this sign: Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, but he took the city. He sent most of his spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the present he made him had something particular in it. It consisted of five hundred talents weight of frankincense,* and a hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It seems Leonidas one day had observed Alexander at a sacrifice throwing incense into the fire by handfuls; upon which he said, "Alexander, when you have conquered the country where spices grow, you may be thus liberal of your incense; but, in the mean time, use what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have sent you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl to the gods."

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures and the whole equipage of Barius, he asked his friends what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were to be proposed, but he said, "The Iliad most deserved such a case." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or useless counsellor, in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and

* The common Attic talent in Troy weight was 56lb. 11oz. 17gr. This talent consisted of 60 *mina*; but there was another Attic talent, by some said to consist of 80, by others of 100 *mina*. The *mina* was 11oz. 7dwt. 16gr. The talent of Alexandria was 104lb. 19dwt. 14gr.

called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He thought a person with grey hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines:

High o'er a gulfy sea the Pharian isle
 Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile.
POPE.

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the *canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *isthmus*, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour. This led him to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qualifications, was an excellent architect," and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences. For want of chalk, they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by straight lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds, of various kinds, rose, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake, and, lighting upon the place, eat up all the flour that was used in marking out the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen; but the diviners encouraged him to proceed, by assuring him, it was a sign that the city he was going to build would be blessed with such plenty as to furnish a supply to all that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey;* and beside

* As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (l. iii. c. 3.) tells us,

the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days journey which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full fifty thousand men. These difficulties were considered and represented to Alexander; but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place.

The divine assistances which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though these extraordinary assistances, in some measure, confirmed the oracles. In the first place Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of suffering by thirst, but, by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear, and fit for respiration. In the next place when they found the marks which were to serve for guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briskly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also stopped. What is still stranger, Cal-

he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was despatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Libya against Antæus, and when he marched into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (*Serm.* xxv.) informs us that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile; and Justin. (l. xi. c. 11.) says, the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of a divine origin.

listhenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, these birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father; and when he inquired, "Whether any of the assassins of his father had escaped him?" the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he asked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip were punished; and whether it was given the proponent to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and that the death of Philip was sufficiently avenged." Upon this Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion, only says, "He received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return."

Some say, Ammon's prophet being desirous to address him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion*, which signifies, *My Son*; but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, *O pai dios*, which signifies, *O Son of Jupiter*. Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake was propagated a report that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo, an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most, was, "That all men are governed by God, for in every thing that which rules and governs us is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: He said, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed he affected a lofty part, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced

of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution that he assumed any degree of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, that he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos. "It was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip.*

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor

"Which blest immortals shed."

One day it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner, that it astonished all that heard it; upon which Anaxarchus, the sophist, being in company with him, said, "Son of Jupiter, could you do so?" Alexander answered with a smile, "I do not choose to be so terrible to my friends as you would have me, who despise my entertainments, because you see fish served up, and not the heads of Persian grandees." It seems the king had made Hephestion a present of some small fish, and Anaxarchus observing it said, "Why did he not rather send you the heads of princes;"† intimating, how truly despicable those glittering things are which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue; since, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears then, from what has been said, that Alexander neither believed, nor was elated with, the notion of his divinity, but

* He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

† Diogenes imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to the aversion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner asked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the guest, it wants but one dish, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant." Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or governors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his saying afterwards; for after the death of Alexander, he was forced, by contrary winds, upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and put him to death.

that he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection.

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were presented in the greatest perfection, not only in respect to the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those who exhibited them. In Athens, persons are chosen by lot out of the tribes, to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case, the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon, king of Salamis, and Pasicrates, king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors that could be found; Pasicrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander interested himself particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not discover his attachment till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he said, "I commend the judges for what they have done; but I would have given half my kingdom rather than have seen Thessalus conquered."

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their stage at the feasts of Bacchus, and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour; though he refused to comply with that request, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named Lycon, a native of Scaphia, performing with great applause before Alexander, dexterously inserted in one of the speeches of the comedy, a verse in which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them." "So would I," said Alexander,* "if I were Parmenio."

* Longinus takes notice of this as an in-

The answer he gave Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment; if not, he must go and seek him."

In consequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in childbed; and the concern of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber named, Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius smote upon his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah, cruel destiny of the Persians! Was the wife and sister of their king, not only to be taken captive, but after her death to be deprived of the obsequies due to her high rank?" The eunuch answered, "As to her obsequies, O King, and all the honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no reason to blame the evil genius of the Persians; for neither my mistress, Statira, during her life, nor your royal mother, nor children, missed any of the advantages of their former fortune, except the beholding the light of your countenance which the great Oromasdes† will cause to shine with as much lustre as before. So far from being deprived of any of the solemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with the tears of her very enemies. For Alexander is as mild in the use of his victories, as he is terrible in battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment

stance, that it is natural for men of genius even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime.

† *Oromasdes* was worshipped by the Persians as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them *Yerdan* and *Abri-man*.

of his pavilion, and said, "If thou dost not revolt to the Macedonians, as the fortune of Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me thy lord; tell me, as thou honourest the light of Mithra and the right hand of the king, is not the death of Statira the least of her misfortunes I have to lament? Did not she suffer more dreadful things while she lived? And, amidst all our calamities, would not our disgrace have been less, had we met with a more rigorous and savage enemy? For what engagement in the compass of virtue could bring a young man to do such honour to the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tirus humbled his face to the earth, and entreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister: nor to deprive himself of the greatest of consolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a person superior to human nature. He assured him, Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of behaviour to the Persian women than for the valour he exerted against the men. At the same time, he confirmed all he had said with the most awful oaths, and expatiated still more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, "Ye gods, who are the guardians of our birth, and the protectors of kingdoms, grant that I may reestablish the fortunes of Persia, and leave them in the glory I found them; that victory may put it in my power to return Alexander the favours, which my dearest pledges experienced from him in my fall! but if the time determined by fate and the divine wrath, or brought by the vicissitude of things, is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus!" In this manner were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered on this occasion, according to the tenor of history.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends men-

tioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists; and at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela,* as most historians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian tongue, is said to signify *the house of the camel*;† so called, because one of the ancient kings having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September*, there happened an eclipse of the moon;‡ about the beginning of the festival of the great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer, Aristander, performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered

* But as Gaugamela was only a village and Arbela a considerable town, stood near it, the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the son of Hystaspes, crossed the deserts of Scythia, upon that camel.

‡ Astronomers assure us, this eclipse of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian calendar; and, therefore, the battle of Arbela was fought the 1st of October.

sacrifices to FEAR.* The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan Mountains, all illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from the camp, like the bellowsings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated answer, *I will not steal a victory.*

It is true, this answer has been thought by some to savour of the vanity of a young man, who derided the most obvious danger: yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in respect to the future; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea; for in such a vast empire, it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the dispute; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of daylight.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual; insomuch that when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were obliged themselves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreshment. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered

* FEAR was not without her altars; Theæseus sacrificed to her, as we have seen in his life: and Plutarch tells us, in the life of Agis and Cleomenes, that the Lacedæmonians built a temple to FEAR, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious demon, but as the bond of all good government.

his apartment, and standing by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked that officer asked him, "Why he slept like a man that had already conquered, and not rather like one who had the greatest battle the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander smiled, at the question, and said, "In what light can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have not now to traverse desolate countries in pursuit of Darius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander showed his intrepidity and excellent judgment; for the battle was some time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander, that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately despatch a strong reinforcement from the front to the rear: the moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped, however, to tell the messenger, "Parmenio must have lost his senses, and in his disorder must have forgot, that the conquerors are always masters of all that belonged to the enemy; and the conquered need not give themselves any concern about their treasures or prisoners, nor have any thing to think of but how to sell their lives dear, and die in the bed of honour."

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him, and over that a breast-plate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils, at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus; was of iron, but so well polished, that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally

used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citeians, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art on it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he had no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given.

The speech he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks was of some length on this occasion. When he found that they, in their turn, strove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarians, he shifted his javelin to his left hand; and stretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Callisthenes, he entreated the gods "to defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he was really the son of Jupiter."

Aristander the soothsayer, who rode by his side in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the *phalanx* rushed on like a torrent.* Before the first ranks

were well engaged, the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host, where Darius acted in person; for he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron, besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians.

decisive happened there, the Persian foot, near the left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander perceiving this, sent Aratas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the meantime, prosecuting his first design, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble resistance. Darius, perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled.

Vide ARRIAN, l. iii. c. 13. & seq. ubi plura.

Diodorus ascribes the success, which for a time attended the Persian troops, entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened, that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, though it missed him, struck the charioteer, who sat at his feet, dead; and as he fell forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured that the king was slain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who, knowing the route he took could not be discovered on account of the dust and confusion, wheeled about, and got behind the Persian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander pursued right forward.

DIOD. SIC. l. xvii

Justin tells us, that when those about Darius advised him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's pursuit, he answered, "I will never purchase safety to myself at the expense of so many thousands of my subjects as must by this means be lost."

JUST. l. xi. c. 14.

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of histories does not pretend to give an exact description of battles. But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to see some of the more remarkable in detail, we shall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged first upon the Scythian horse, who, as they were well armed and very robust, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a very vigorous resistance. That this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the same time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire destruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and before any thing

and caught hold of their horses' legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not escaped so, if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle: whether it was that age had damped his courage; or whether, as Callisthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power and the pompous behaviour he assumed with an invidious eye, and considered it as an insupportable burden.* Alexander, though vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark, sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent sacrifices; and then to his friends, by

* The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip, of Macedon, confessed Parmenio to be the only general he knew: and on this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it there, would have been a respectable force which might have regained the day.

rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices of freedom. To the Plataeans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus,† a champion of the wrestling-ring, who in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and repaired to Salamis, to take a share in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

He traversed all the provinces of Babylon, which immediately made its submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually, as from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of *naptha*, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The *naptha* in many respects resembles the *bitumen*, but it is much more inflammable. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the king its force and the subtilty of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings; and standing at one end, they applied their torches to some of the first drops; for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously all on fire.

There was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed and anointed him with oil. This man had the greatest success in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy, named

† In Herodotus, *Phoilylus*. See l. viii. 47

Stephen, happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his person, but an excellent singer, Athenophanes said to the king, "Shall we make an experiment of the *naptha* upon Stephen? If it takes fire upon him, and does not presently die out, we must allow its force to be extraordinary indeed." The boy readily consented to undergo the trial: but as soon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely consumed by it if there had not been people at hand with many vessels of water for the service of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguish the fire, and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Those, therefore, who desire to reconcile the fable with the truth, are not unsupported by probability, when they say, it was this drug with which Medea anointed the crown and veil so well known upon the stage;* for the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themselves; but upon the approach of fire, they soon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at some distance, have no other effect upon most bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in those which are dry and porous, or saturated with oily particles, they collect themselves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter so well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naptha*; whether it derives its inflammable quality from * * * * *

* * *,† or rather from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil. For in the province of Babylon, the ground is of so fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulsation to the earth. And in the hot months the people are obliged to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks

with Grecian trees and plants; and he succeeded in every thing except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant, it died; for it loves a cold soil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that mould. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace forty thousand talents in coined money,‡ and the royal furniture, and other riches were of inexpressible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth five thousand talents,§ which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its first freshness and beauty. The reason they assign for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their pristine lustre. Dinon informs us that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being masters of the world.

The entrance into Persia was difficult, on account of the roughness of the country in that part, and because the passes were guarded by the bravest of the Persians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who spoke both Greek and Persian, having a Lycian to his father, and a Persian woman to his mother, offered himself as a guide to Alexander, and showed him how he might enter by taking a circuit. This was the person the priestess of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's consulting her at a very early period of life, she foretold, "That a Lycian would conduct him into Persia." The first that fell into his hands there, were slaughtered in vast numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter should be given, because he thought such an example

‡ Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, says fifty thousand.

§ Or five thousand talents weight. Dacier calls it so many hundred weight; and the eastern talent was nearly that weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double dipped Tyrian purple, in the time of Augustus, was sold for a hundred crowns.

* Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem

Serpente fugit alite.

HOR.

† Something here is wanting in the original.

would be of service to his affairs. It is said, he found as much gold and silver coin there as he did at Susa, and that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich movables, that it loaded ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels.*

At Persepolis, he cast his eyes upon a great statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedestal by the crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive—"Shall we leave you," said he, "in this condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, or rear you again for the sake of your magnanimity and other virtues?"—After he had stood a long time considering in silence which he should do, he passed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he stayed there four months, for it was winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus, the Corinthian, who had the same affection and friendship for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man, when he uttered this exclamation, "What a pleasure have those Greeks missed, who died without seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication, and the women had their share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. The most celebrated among these women was Thais, a native of Attica, and mistress to Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, she addressed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her stamp. "I have undergone great fatigues," said she, "in wandering about Asia; but this day has brought me a compensation, by putting it in my power to insult the proud courts of the Persian kings. Ah! how much greater pleasure would it be to finish the ca-

rousal with burning the palaces of Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes, and set fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander!† Then shall it be said in times to come, that the very women of his train more signally avenged the cause of Greece upon the Persians, than all the generals before him could do by sea or land."

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits and most tumultuary acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with the proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leaped from his seat, and with a garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way.—The rest followed with shouts of joy, and dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians, who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleasure; for they concluded, from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account most writers give us of the motives of this transaction. There are not, however, wanting those who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflection. But all agree that the king soon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible charm. To give a few instances; Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and said, "Among us, Sir, such a present is rewarded with a golden cup." The king answered with a smile, "An empty one, I suppose; but I will give you one full of good wine;

+ These dames were not reared solely for regal magnificence and security; but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to secrete the royal pleasures from those that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised not only for vanity but for riot; so, probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell. A striking instance of the insignificance of human labours, and the depravity of human nature.

* Diodorus says three thousand.

and here, my boy, I drink to you."—One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said, "Hold on, friend, the rest of the way, and carry it to your own tent; for it is yours." Indeed he was generally more offended at those who refused his presents, than at those who asked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, "That he could no longer number him among his friends, if he rejected the marks of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at ball, because he asked for nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which Alexander said, "Why do you not give it me?" "Because you did not ask for it," said the youth. This repartee pleased the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable presents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jester by profession, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he sued for pardon with tears; which at last the king granted. "If you do really pardon me," resumed the wag, "I hope you will give me at least some substantial proof of it." And he condescended to do it in a present of five talents.

With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and those who attended on his person,* appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," said she, "in serving your friends, and it is right to act nobly; but by making them all equal to kings, in proportion as you put it in their power to make friends, you deprive yourself of that privilege."—Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters se-

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horses when he went to fight or hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber door.

cret, except one, which Hephæstion happened to cast his eye upon, when he went, according to custom, to read over the king's shoulder; he did not hinder him from reading on; only when he had done, he took his signet from his finger and put it to his mouth.†

The son of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government still more considerable. But the young man declined it in a handsome manner, and said, "Sir, we had but one Darius, and now you make many Alexanders." He bestowed on Parmenio the house of Bagaos, in which were found such goods as were taken at Susa, to the value of a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him that there was a design formed against his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent presents; but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in state affairs, or in the least to control the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater once wrote a long letter full of heavy complaints against her; and when he had read it, he said, "Antipater knows not that one tear of a mother, can blot out a thousand such complaints."

He found that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were most extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuse in other respects; insomuch, that Agnon, of Teos, wore silver nails in his shoes; Leonatus had many camel loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himself with when he went to the wrestling-ring; Philotas had hunting-nets that would enclose the space of a hundred furlongs; more made use of rich essences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philosopher. He told them, "It was very strange to him, that, after having undergone so many glorious conflicts, they did not remember, that those who come from

† To enjoin him silence.

labour and exercise, always sleep more sweetly than the inactive and effeminate; and that in comparing the Persian manners with the Macedonian, they did not perceive that nothing was more servile than the love of pleasure, or more princely than a life of toil. How will that man," continued he, "take care of his own horse, or furbish his lance and helmet, whose hands are too delicate to wait on his own dear person? Know you not, that the end of conquest is, not to do what the conquered have done, but something greatly superior?" After this, he constantly took the exercise of war and hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue, with less precaution than ever; so that a Lacedæmonian ambassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said, "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi.—There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself, and example to others. But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were so devoted to luxury and ease, that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first he bore their censures with great moderation and used to say, "There was something noble in bearing himself ill spoken of, while he was doing well."* Indeed, in the least of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and respect. We will give an instance or two of it. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters, to others of his friends and not to him. "But now," says he, "let me know how you do, and whether any of your company de-

serted you, that I may punish them if such there were." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he acquainted him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon,† Craterus had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance.—When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus, the physician, to thank him for his care. During the sickness of Craterus, the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery, and ordered him to do the same.—Upon Pausanias the physician's design to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him expressing his great anxiety about it, and desiring him to be particularly cautious in the use of that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of the flight and treasonable practices of Harpalus, supposing their information false. Upon his sending home the invalids and the superannuated, Eurylochus, the Agæan, got himself enrolled among the former.—Soon after, it was discovered that he had no infirmities of body; and he confessed it was the love of Telesippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that though a courtesan, she was not a slave, he said, "Eurylochus, I am willing to

+ The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash-colour; its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, &c. and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. Naturalists also say, it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itself up in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.

DION. SIC. p. 32, 78. PLIN. l. vii. c. 24, 25.

The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon for destroying the crocodiles. They worshipped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

* Voltaire says somewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He seems to be indebted for the sentiment to Alexander.

assist you in this affair; but as the woman is freeborn, you must see if we can prevail upon her by presents and courtship."

It is surprising, that he had time or inclination to write letters about such unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent search to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's runaway slave; to commend Peucestas for having seized Nicon, a slave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if possible, to draw another slave from his asylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is said, that in the first years of his reign, when capital causes were brought before him, he used to stop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might preserve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many false informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by means of some true circumstances, were so represented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper, particularly in cases of aspersions on his own character, his reason forsook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly severe; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched against Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians, and sent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thousand talents, over and above their pay. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand and three hundred furlongs in eleven days.* As they often suffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. These people, seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day), immediately filled a helmet with water,

and presented it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying it? and they said, "Their sons: but if our prince does but live, we shall get other children, if we lose them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and seeing all the horse-men bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praised the people that offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these good men will be dispirited."† The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us march! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor shall we even think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct of such a king." At the same time they put spurs to their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadrons, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his last moments, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him some cold water, and when he had drank, he said, "Friend, this fills up the measure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to reward thee for this act of kindness, but Alexander will not let thee go without a recompence; and the gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mother, to my wife, and children; tell him I gave him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he showed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus afterwards fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in this

* As this was no more than forty miles a day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coast.

† Lucan has embellished this story for Cato, and has possibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

manner:—he caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil.*

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caspian sea, which appeared to him not less than the Euxine, but its water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis; yet the ancient naturalists were not ignorant of its origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote, that there are four seas which stretch from the main ocean into the continent, the farthest north of which is the Hyrcanian or the Caspian.† The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and children, with utter extermination, if they did not restore him the horse. But, upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a considerable sum, by way of ransom, to those that took the horse.

From thence he marched into Parthia; where finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings; whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain men's hearts; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to

pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the tiara; but adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the despatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence is due to a prince, who, beside his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner, that splinters were taken out; who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time; he yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he had passed the Oresartes, which he supposed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, in spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Policitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians, report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip, who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the story as a fiction. And indeed Alexander himself seems to support their opinion. For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that passed, he says, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the least mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Onesicritus, many years after, read to Lysimachus, then king, the fourth book of his history, in which

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, the brother of Darius; in consequence of which he had his nose and ears cut off, and was fastened to a cross, where he was despatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny too has allowed. The Caspian sea has no communication with the ocean

this story was introduced, he smiled and said, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular, or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor lessen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might dislike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greatest part of his army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a select body of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The purport of his speech upon the occasion was this: "Hitherto the barbarians have seen us only as in a dream. If you should think of returning, after having given Asia the alarm only, they will fall upon you with contempt as unenterprising and effeminate. Nevertheless, such as desire to depart, have my consent for it; but, at the same time, I call the gods to witness, that they desert their king when he is conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave him to the kinder and more faithful attachment of those few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almost word for word the same with that he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no sooner done speaking, than they cried, he might lead them to what part of the world he pleased." Thus he tried the disposition of these brave men; and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their sentiments; they followed of course.

After this, he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions; for by a mixture of both, he thought an union might be promoted much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance. For the same reason he elected thirty thousand boys, and gave them masters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Nor was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection

it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever passionately loved without the sanction of marriage.

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, the other more of his esteem. He was persuaded indeed, and he often said, "Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail to break out upon occasion.—One day, in India, they drew their swords, and came to blows; the friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be sensible that without his master's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, "That he loved them more than all the men in the world; but, if he perceived them at variance again, he would put them both to death, or him, at least, who began the quarrel." This is said to have had such an effect upon them that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had great authority; for he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, nor had a greater spirit of generosity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requested a sum of money, and he ordered it to be given him.—The steward said he had it not to give. "What" says Philotas, "hast thou not plate or some other movable?" However, he affected an ostentation of wealth, and a magnificence in his dress and table, that was above the condition of a subject. Besides, the loftiness of his port was altogether extravagant; not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it exposed him to

both hatred and suspicion, insomuch that Parmenio one day said to him, "My son, be less." He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damascus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius, in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp, there was a beautiful young woman, called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the share of Philotas. Like a young soldier with a favourite mistress, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiscreet things escape him; attributing all the great actions of the war to himself and his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means had enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told these things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned them to another. At last, they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as usual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he said. Philotas, ignorant of the snares that were laid for him, conversed with the woman without the least reserve, and either in his resentment or pride uttered many unbecoming things against Alexander. That prince, though he had sufficient proof against Philotas, kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aversion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and interest of the family.

About this time, a Macedonian, named Limnus,* a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of; desiring him to take a part in the enterprise. Nicomachus, instead of embracing the proposal, informed his brother Balinus† of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and desired him to introduce them to Alexander; assuring him it was upon business of great importance. Whatever might be his reason, (for it is not known) Philotas

refused them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained some suspicion of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two several applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus, had killed him,‡ because he stood upon his defence and refused to be taken; it disturbed him still more, to think that he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resentment against Philotas gave opportunity to those who had long hated that officer to avow their dislike, and to declare, how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon as to think that Limnus, an insignificant Chalæstrean, durst engage, of his own accord, in such a bold design. "No doubt," said they, "he was the agent, or rather the instrument, of some superior hand; and the king should trace out the source of the conspiracy among those who have the most interest in having it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable accusations against Philotas, some of them very groundless. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry to hear the examination; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himself in such a lamentable manner, and had recourse to such mean supplications to Hephæstion, he is reported to have said, "O Philotas, durst thou, with all this unmanly weakness, embark in so great and hazardous an enterprise?"

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately sent orders into Media that Parmenio should be put to death, a man who had a share in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the

* It should, undoubtedly, be read *Dymnus*, as Q. Curtius and Diodorus have it.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Cebalinus*.

‡ Other authors say he killed himself.

old counsellors, who put Alexander upon his expedition into Asia. Of three sons whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he fell a sacrifice himself. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætoli-ans, and entered into league with them. They had something to fear from Alexander, as well as he, for they had sacked the city of the Œniades; and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The children of the Œniades need not revenge their cause; I will punish the Ætoli-ans myself."

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus; which, however simply related, is much more shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet if we reflect on the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune, rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired its freshness and beauty, he desired Clitus to see it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they assured him it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather because three days before he had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. However, before the sacrifice was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The

older part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer, but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done to make a jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians that were much better men than the laughers, though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cowardice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds, that you are grown so great that you disdain to acknowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in this villanous manner thou talkest of me in all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny; but dost thou think to enjoy it long?" "And what do we enjoy now?" said Clitus, "what reward have we for all our toils? Do we not envy those who did not live to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to Persians for access to their king?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among the Macedonians like demi-gods among so many wild beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "To speak out what he had to say, or not to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their sentiments without reserve. But, perhaps, continued he, it were better to pass your life with barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger threw an apple in his face, and then looked about for his sword,

But Aristophanes,* one of his guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were vain; he broke from them, and called out in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the signal for a great tumult; at the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. This man was afterwards held in high esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room, but he soon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and disrespectful tone, those verses from the *Andromache* of Euripides.

Are these your customs? Is it thus that Greece

Rewards her combatants? † Shall one man claim

The trophies won by thousands?

Then Alexander snatched a spear from one of his guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body; he fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment; he came to himself; and seeing his friends standing in silent astonishment by him, he hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He passed that night and the next day in anguish expressible; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him, but he would listen to none of them, except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and

Anaxarchus, the Abderite, were called in.‡ Callisthenes began in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without searching the wound; but Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a slave, in fear of the law, and the tongues of men, to whom he should himself be a law, and the measure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to rule and command; not servilely to submit to the vain opinions of men? Know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by his side, to show, that whatever is done by supreme power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjust. At the same time he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable, on account of his austerity.

One day a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons, and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes held with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more severe than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obstinacy; upon which, Callisthenes said, "You must needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and here you cannot sit at table without three housing coverlets one over another." This stroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was

‡ Callisthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, whose relation he was. He had too much of the spirit of liberty to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance. Aristotle forwarned him, that if he went on to treat the king with the freedom which his spirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

* Q. Curtius and Arrian call him Aristonous.

† This is the speech of Peleus to Menelaus.

followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was said to be the cause of his going to Alexander, namely, an ambition to bring his fellow citizens back, and to repeople the place of his nativity.* His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy; and he gave some room for calumny himself, by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed that he could neither commend, nor was satisfied with what passed; insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

I hate the sage
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself.

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was desired to pronounce an eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with so much eloquence that the guests, beside their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander said in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme 'tis easy to excel.

"But show us now," continued he, "the power of your rhetoric, in speaking against the Macedonians, that they may see their faults, and amend."

Then the orator took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he showed to be the only cause of the great increase of Philip's power; concluding with these words,

Amidst sedition's waves
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander said, "He gave not, in this case, a specimen of his eloquence, but of his malevolence."

Hermippus assures us, that Stroibus, a person employed by Callisthenes to

read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes perceiving the king's aversion to him, repeated this verse two or three times at parting :

Patroclus, thy superior is no more.

It was not, therefore, without reason, that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is great, but he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration, but stood forth singly, and uttered in public many grievances which the best and the oldest of the Macedonians durst not reflect upon but in secret, though they were as much displeased at them as he. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks, indeed, from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater; but he ruined himself; because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no sooner received it than he rose up, and turning towards the hearth,† where stood the domestic gods, to drink, he worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place against the table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to mind him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiss: for he alone has not adored you." Upon which Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return one kiss the poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued: but many other things contributed to his

† Dacier is of opinion, that, by this action, the flatterer wanted to insinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domestic gods. But, as the king sat in that part of the room where the *Penates* were, we rather think it was a vile excuse to the man's own conscience for this act of religious worship, because their position made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for them.

* Olynthus was one of the cities destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flourishing place. *Vide Or. iii. in Verrem.*

fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lysimachus and Agnon attacked him, and said, "The sophist went about with as much pride as if he had demolished a tyranny, and the young men followed him, as the only freeman among so many thousands." These things upon the discovery of Hermolaus's plot against Alexander, give an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. His enemies said, Hermolaus inquired of him, "By what means he might become the most famous man in the world?" and that he answered, "By killing the most famous." They farther asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him "not be afraid of the golden bed, but remember he had to do with a man who had suffered both by sickness and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, writes, "That the young men, when put to the torture, declared, it was entirely their own enterprise, and that no man besides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms, that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest. "The Macedonians," says he, "have stoned the young men to death. As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those that sent him too; nor shall the towns that harboured the conspirators escape." In which he plainly discovers his aversion to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was brought up as a relation; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related; some say, that Alexander ordered him to be hanged; others, that he fell sick and died in chains; and Chares writes, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council in the presence of Aristotle; but that he died of excessive corpulency and a lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ, in India. This happened, however, at a later period than we are upon.

In the meantime, Demaratus, the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to see Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he said, "The Greeks fell short of a great pleasure, who did not live to see Alexander upon the throne of Darius;" but he did not live long to enjoy the king's friendship; he sickened and died soon after. The king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of great extent, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes were carried to the sea shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages had assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage, and that of his friends, and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take than it was to execute; few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burned and destroyed whatever was superfluous.—This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his design; besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences: Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for refusing to stay in a fortress he had given him the charge of; and one of the barbarians, named Osodates, he shot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each side of which were testicles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldeans, who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends on this occasion, "That he was more troubled on their account than his own, for he was afraid that after his death, fortune would throw the empire into the hands of some obscure and weak man;" a better omen, however,

soon dissipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening the ground by the river Oxus,* in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor; which after the surface was taken off, came perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and brightness, though there were no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, that it makes the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining.†

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happiest presages the gods had afforded him. The soothsayers said, it betokened, that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the same time laborious and difficult, because heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very considerable wounds; but his army suffered most from the want of necessities, and by the climate: for his part, he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: he thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the bold. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres‡ upon a rock extremely steep and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether

Sisimethres were a man of spirit?" and being answered, "That he was timorous and dastardly;" he said, "You inform me the rock may be taken, since there is no strength in its defender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the assault there was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to say to him, "You must behave gallantly, my friend, to do justice to your name." He was informed afterwards that the young man fell as he was distinguishing himself in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he sat down before Nysa,§ the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased when he bade the eldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sofa that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on condition that they appoint you their governor, and send me a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said, "I should govern better if you would take the worst instead of the best."

It is said the dominions of Taxiles, in India,|| were as large as Egypt; they afforded excellent pasturage too, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence,

§ Arrian calls it Nyssa; so indeed does the Vulcob. MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysius, or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dicysiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

|| Between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

* Strabo (lib. ii.) ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian sea.

† Pliny tells us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice. The salt consistence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing of the unctuous quality of these waters mentioned by Plutarch. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi.

‡ This strong hold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

he waited on Alexander, and after the first compliments, thus addressed him,

What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessities of life; the only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver and other possessions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige you with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection to sharing in your bounty." Charmed with this frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived if you do. I will dispute it with you till the last; but it shall be in favours and benefits; for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The most warlike of the Indians used to fight for pay. Upon this invasion they defended the cities that hired them with great vigour, and Alexander suffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet siezed the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the sword: this is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king.*

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reason he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have

* It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak must submit to the strong! Indeed, those barbarians were much honest men, for they had another, and a better plea; they went to seek bread.

an account of it in his own letters.—According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy, with their heads towards the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians.—When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But, notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay, so that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occasion he is said to have uttered that celebrated saying, "Will you believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, to have you the heralds of my fame?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus; but Alexander himself only says, they quitted their boats, and armed as they were, waded up the breach breast high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horse, twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiss. The enemy detached against him a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the spot. By this, Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from making good their passage. Alexander, considering the force of the elephants,

and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was more of a mixed kind; but maintained with such obstinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself, in one of his epistles.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk were such, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" he answered, "Like a king;" "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander; "No," said he, "every thing is comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities,* and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

* Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account of this: "He took thirty-seven cities, the least of which contained five thousand inhabitants, and several of them above ten thousand. He took also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and gave the government of the country to Porus."

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us: but Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander showed as much regret as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion.—He esteemed him, indeed, as such, and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called, after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo, of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass the Ganges,† which they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathom. The opposite shore too was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Ganderites and Præsians were said to be waiting for them there, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war; nor is this number at all magnified: for Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of five hundred elephants at one time,‡ and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring, "He did not thank the Macedonians in the least for what they had done, if they would not pass the Ganges; for

† The Ganges is the largest of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

‡ Dacier says *five thousand*, but does not mention his authority. Perhaps it was only a slip in the writing, or in the printing.

he considered a retreat no other than an acknowledgment that he was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him; and at last, their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars, for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often said afterwards, "That Alexander was within a little of making himself master of all the country; with such hatred and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on account of his profligacy of manners, and meanness of birth."

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the ocean: for which purpose, he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it; but presently after he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company much galled by the darts of the barbarians below, he poised himself, and leaped down into the midst of the enemy; by good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the barbarians were so astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or some super-natural splendour issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed; but when they had recollected themselves

and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought; one of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Linnæus* placed themselves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had with great difficulty sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off the cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and stuck fast in the bone: he fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himself; yet after the danger was over he continued weak, and a long time confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so long deprived of the sight of their king, they assembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent; when he perceived this, he put on his robe and made his appearance, but as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his destination, though carried in a litter by the water side, he subdued a large tract of land, and many respectable cities.

In the course of this expedition, he

* Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

took ten of the *Gymnosophists*,* who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberless other troubles upon the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he put the most difficult questions to them that could be thought of, and at the same time declared, he would put the first person that answered wrong to death, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered "The living; for the dead no longer exist."†

The second was asked, "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered, "The earth; for the sea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted."‡

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I wished him either to live with honour, or to die as a coward deserves."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse questions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded, "What are the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How

* These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were the most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles.—Apuleius tells us, that not only the scholars, but the younger pupils, were assembled about dinner time, and examined what good they had done that day, and such as could not point out some act of humanity, or some useful pursuit they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

† They did not hold the mortality, but the transmigration of the soul.

‡ This we suppose to mean man himself, as not being acquainted with himself.

a man might become a god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he; "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "in my opinion they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher; "not except you choose to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation, and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not hear me on any other condition," said he "though you come from Jupiter himself." Dandamis behaved with more civility; and when Onesicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said, "They appeared to him to have been men of genius, but to have lived with too passive a regard to the laws."

Others say, Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only asked, "Why Alexander had taken so long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because they addressed him with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, presented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dried and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon the edges of it. This he did all round; and as he trod on one side, it started up on the other. At last he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still.

By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called Scilloustis,* but others call it Psiltoucis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven, "That no man might ever reach beyond the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, ill diet, and excessive heats destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea; consequently they were poor, and their flesh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, and then arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmania for seven days in a kind of a Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some

covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but, instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed with a very immodest figure, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia, he gave his army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the choruses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas happening to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which at last he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, to circle the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the pillars of Hercules; for this purpose he constructed, at Thapsacus, a number of vessels of all sorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new subjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon displaying their injustice, insolence, and avarice; in short,

* Arrian calls it Cilutta. Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which surprised them not a little.

the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguings against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra, Macedonia. The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he said, "His mother had considered right; for the Macedonians would never bear to be governed by a woman."

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him: he had only collected three thousand talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses; and, as they did not touch it, he said, "Of what use will this provision now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into custody.

The first thing he did after he entered Persia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excursion to their Persian dominions, used to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reason, several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never did; he banished himself to save his money. Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: O MAN! WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENSOEVER THOU COMEST (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT), I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE; ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him in so strong a light the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after hav-

ing been disordered a little while with the cholic, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair,* and threw it on the fire; and before he ascended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king; "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little time at Babylon." So saying he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Nor did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of this country. Many years after, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens, whose tomb is shown to this day, and called *the Indian's tomb*.

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper, and, to give life to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine,† and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares tells us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality. As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said that no less than nine thousand guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; insomuch that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

* As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims.

† About fourteen quarts. The *Chæus* was six pints nine-tenths.

An officer, who had but one eye, named Antigènes, put himself upon the list of debtors, and produced a person who declared that he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterwards discovering the fraud, in his anger forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart shot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the disgrace he had now brought upon himself; his grief and despair was so great that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent such a catastrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians; they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure: "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, and now he sends them back with disgrace, and turns them upon the hands of their country and their parents, in a very different condition from that in which he received them. Why does he not dismiss us all? Why does not he reckon all the Macedonians incapable of service, now he has got this body of young dancers? Let him go with them and conquer the world."

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and

spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last, coming to themselves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up to his vengeance; desiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

He was softened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their dear master. The third day he came out to them; and when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them in a free manner; and such as were unfit for service he sent over with magnificent presents. At the same time, he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there; and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had despatched the most urgent affairs, he employed himself again in the celebration of games and other public solemnities; for which purpose three thousand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very serviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæstion fell sick of a fever in the midst of this festivity. As a young man and a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet; and taking the opportunity to dine when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as possible; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor physician he crucified. He forbade the flute and all other music in his camp

for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demi-god. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cusæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the sword; this he called a sacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæstion!

He designed to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expense, great as it was. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos, in Thrace, was most capable of being cut into a human figure; and that if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world: a statue, which should have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in his left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in his right. He did not, however, embrace that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared, he had been applied to by some Chaldeans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon; but he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras, the diviner; and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared; Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head; "A terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras

go with impunity; but by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion, without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing up and down the Euphrates; for there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him: one of the largest and handsomest lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass; one day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball; after this diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer; at last, coming to himself, he said, "My name is Dionysius, and I am a native of Messene: upon a criminal process against me, I left the place, and embarked for Babylon; there I have been kept a long time in chains; but this day the god Serapis appeared to me and broke my chains, after which he conducted me hither, and ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased; on one hand, he almost despaired of the succours of heaven, and on the other distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of which, named Iolæus,* was his cup-bearer, the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia, and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers; which greatly irritated the king. "What is this talk of thine?" said he, "Dost thou think that men who had suffered no injury, would come so far to bring a false charge?"

* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*.—Plutarch calls him *Iolæus*.

"Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, because they are at a distance from those who are able to contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which make equally for either side of the question; but be assured I will make you repent it, if these men have had the least injustice done them."

This, and other menaces, left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with such horror that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddiness it caused in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident, which was anything strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrificers, purifiers, and prognosticators; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil, yet superstition is a greater; for as water gains upon low grounds, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion, from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in order to retire to rest; but in the meantime Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him; it did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been

pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobolus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month *Dæsius*, *June*.

But in his journals the account of his sickness is as follows:—"On the eighteenth of the month *Dæsius*, finding the fever upon him, he lay in his bath-room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice; in the evening he bathed again, and after having sacrificed to the gods, he ate his supper; in the night the fever returned: the twentieth he also bathed, and after the customary sacrifice, sat in the bath-room, and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus tell the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean: the twenty-first was spent in the same manner, the fever increased, and he had a very bad night. The twenty-second, the fever was violent; he ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the great bath; there he talked to his generals about the vacancies in his army, and desired they might be filled up with experienced officers; the twenty-fourth he was much worse; he chose, however, to be carried to assist at the sacrifice; he likewise gave orders, that the principal officers of the army should wait within the court, and the others keep watch all night without; the twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace, on the other side of the river, where he slept a little, but the fever did not abate, and when his generals entered the room he was speechless; he continued so the day following. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, and threatened the great officers in such a manner, that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to pass unarmed by the bedside. On the twenty-seventh, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, and the deity ordered that they should not

remove him. The twenty-eighth in the evening he died." These particulars are taken almost word for word from his diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death; but six years after, (we are told) Olympias, upon some information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Those who say Aristotle advised Antipater to such a horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison he sent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus; they add, that the poison was a water of a cold and deadly quality,* which distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do so many dew-drops, and keep in an ass's hoof; its extreme coldness and acrimony being such, that it makes its way through all other vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though, on account of the disputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay unembalmed, in a sultry place, it had no sign of any such taint, but continued fresh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore, had great attention paid her by the Macedonians; but being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a

* Hence it was called the *Stygian Water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia.

snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having by this means got her into her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. Perdicas was her accomplice in this murder; indeed, he had now the principal power, which he exercised in the name of Aridaeus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

Aridæus was the son of Philip, by a courtesan, named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper in which neither nature nor accident had any share; for it is said, there was something amiable and great in him when a boy, which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain.†

† Portraits of the same person, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a resemblance upon the whole; and so it is in general with the characters of men; but Alexander seems to be an exception, for nothing can admit of greater dissimilarity than that which entered into his disposition at different times, and in different circumstances; he was brave and pusillanimous, merciful and cruel, modest and vain, abstemious and luxurious, rational and superstitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent; nor were these changes casual or temporary; the style of his character underwent a total revolution, and he passed from virtue to vice in a regular and progressive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteristics that never forsook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.



JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome,* he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears,† he confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood,‡ though he was not

yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when some said, there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered, "their sagacity was small, if they did not in that boy see many Marius's."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded there, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken, near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him,

and, upon his refusal, deprived him of that office. SÆTON. in Julio.

* Some imagine that the beginning of this Life is lost; but if they look back to the introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vanish.

† Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as Piso had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antistia.

‡ Cæsar had the priesthood before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cossutia, though she was of a consular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis* or Priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted on his divorcing Cornelia,

and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money he despatched his people to different cities, and in the meantime remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates; and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus,* in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo,† who

taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them, so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his powers would have brought him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers "Not to expect in the performance of a military man the style of a complete orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such studies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanours in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæsar, however, in acknowledgment of the readiness Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæsar pleaded it in so powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging, that he

Alabandian; and that they both professed the same art at Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, especially in his first book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: "For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he taught for money, he did not suffer any whom he thought incapable of making a figure as orators to lose their time and labour with him, but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves to that art for which they were, in his opinion, best qualified."

To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose, with Ruault, that there were two Molo's, cotemporaries; for the testimonies of Suetonius (in Cæsare, c. 4.) and of Quintilian (Institut. l. xii. c. 6.) that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be overruled.

* Dacier reads *Melos*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

† It should be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier and Ruault; and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661,) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both scholars of Menacles the

was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he showed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condescension not to be expected from so young a man; at the same time the freedom of his table and the magnificence of his expense gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him imagined that his resources would soon fail, and therefore, at first, made light of his popularity, considerable as it was. But when it was grown to such a height that it was scarce possible to demolish it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the constitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however small, are to be neglected; because continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but, on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The first proof he had of the affection of the people was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The second was more remarkable: it was on occasion of his pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue. At the same time he had the hardness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this some

began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades below.

It had long been the custom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: they sympathized with him, and considered him a man of great goodnature, and one who had the social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain with* Antistius Vetus the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by taking Vetus's son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short, transient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to, at a small price. He is said to have been a thousand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly that every one sought for new honours and employments, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest; and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter; in pursuance of which intention, when

* See Vell. Paternulus ii. 43.

his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions, which declared them the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion; this, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them, and make what innovations he pleased; on the other hand, the partisans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy, at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable expression, "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well that the senate gave it for him: and his admirers still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain every thing with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions, died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate; nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate

The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit; but he answered, "He would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his election."

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attended him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was anything more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this success; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them is uncertain; what is universally agreed upon is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators, as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented "That it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, without an open trial, except in case of extreme necessity; but that they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was subdued; and then the senate might take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in full peace, and at their leisure."

As there appeared something humane

in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him; and this, with other arguments, had so much weight that the two conspirators were delivered to the executioner; nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate-house, several of the young men who guarded Cicero's person, ran upon him with their drawn swords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and that Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought the killing him unjust and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship; he was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar, for a few days after, when Cæsar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremost in all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five millions five hundred thousand *drachmas* to the expense of the state.* This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble, to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a disagreeable event in his own family.

There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it. But the women's apartment was so narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia so much attended to by Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses the Romans worship, there is one they call *Bona Dea*, the good goddess, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, the patroness of the women. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans say, she was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks assure us, she is that mother of Bacchus, whose name is not to be uttered. For this reason, the women, when they keep her festival, cover their tents with vine branches; and according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, nor even to be in the house at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themselves are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

When the anniversary of the festival comes, the consul or prætor (for it is at the house of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife, now having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner; the mysteries are performed in the night; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia this year was directress of the feast. Clodius, who was yet a beardless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered, and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, and was safely introduced by a maid-servant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as she stayed a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she left him, but wandering about the great house, endeavoured to avoid the lights. At last, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and supposing she spoke to a

* But this distribution did not continue long.

CÆSAR.

woman, challenged him to play; upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him who he was, and whence he came? He said he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid, for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him; Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out she had found a man in the house. The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment. Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covered up the symbols of their mysterious worship. She ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found, lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city and the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal senators strengthened the charge, by accusing him to his face, of many villanous debaucheries, and, among the rest, of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange, the accuser demanded, why, if that was the case, he had divorced his wife: "Because," said he, "I would have the chastity of my wife clear even of suspicion." Some say Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were set upon saving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear, most of the judges having confounded the letters upon the tablets that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they con-

demned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship.* But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedency or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you, I had rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander at my age reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain, he applied to business with great diligence and having added ten new raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war, he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between

* It was the government of farther Spain only that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica; that is, Portugal and Andalusia.

debtors and creditors; for he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories saluted him *Imperator*.

At his return he found himself under a troublesome dilemma: those that solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things that he could not reconcile, and as his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law; and when he saw numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted to prevent his success by gaining time; with which view, he spun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon anything that day. Cæsar then determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of both to himself; and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. For it was not, what most people imagine, the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union: they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and overbusy man; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour having Calpur-

nus Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had, no sooner entered upon his office than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul as to a seditious tribune; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted: he protested with great warmth, "That they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate, laid him under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, "Whether they approved his laws?" and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him; and Pompey added, "Against those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain: it appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but, notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla.—Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how unsupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague when he found his opposition to their

new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictors'* hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe, "That it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the rest from assembling," Cæsar said, "Why does not fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence; the small remains of my life deserve not much care or precaution."

The most disgraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he set out for his government before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man: we begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the great-

est and most admired commanders the world ever produced; for whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanized; one, in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances:

Acilius, in a seafight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrhachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield,* called out to the enemy, as if he would

* Cæsar (Bell. Civ. l. iii.) says, this brave soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his shield; and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, beside other military rewards.

surrender himself. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword that the arm dropped off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and he saved his life.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and, after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar, and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy, but the soldier in great distress threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and with tears in his eyes begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Gramus Petronius, lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor "He gave him his life." Petronius answered, "It is not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them: for his whole conduct showed, that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own; but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merits of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory; but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all appearance

above his bodily powers; for he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headaches and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. On the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the daytime he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, and with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is also said, that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the same city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with respect to diet they give us this remarkable proof: Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his at Milan, there was sweet ointment poured upon the asparagus, instead of oil. Cæsar eat of it freely notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you. He who finds fault with any rusticity, is himself a rustic."

One day, as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there

was only one room, and that scarce big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessities for the infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burned twelve of their own towns and four hundred villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage, and in numbers they were equal, being in all three hundred thousand, of which a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant, Labienus, against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar.* But the Helvetians suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he was upon the march to a confederate town.† He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him. Upon which he said, "When I have won the battle I shall want my horse for the pursuit; at present let us march as we are against the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot.‡

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

* Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in person, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

‡ He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops that he would take his share in all the danger. Vide Bell. Gall. lib. i.

To this great action he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of a hundred thousand and upwards, and obliged them to re-settle in the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burned. This he did in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans,§ though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved insupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests all over Gaul. He found, however, his officers particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in the hopes of living luxuriously and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty to retire, and needed not hazard their persons against their inclination, since they were so unmanly and spiritless. For his part, he would march with the tenth legion only against these barbarians; for they were neither better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worse general than Marius." Upon this some of the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and

§ The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the Avernians, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Avernians of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Franche Comte. Cæsar. Bell. Gall. lib. i.

attack him, he supposed they would not dare to stand the Germans when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæsar, and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noise made by the stream. On this occasion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. For this reason he attacked their intrenchments and the hills upon which they were posted; which provoked them to such a degree, that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed.—Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle, covering all the way with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his array in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side of the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome; for the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. During his stay there he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a great army, he marched to that quar-

ter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble resistance, and killed such numbers that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents as dwelt upon the seacoast, surrendered without opposition.

From thence he led his army against the Nervii,* who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods, in the best manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched to the number of sixty thousand, and fell upon Cæsar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of such an attack.† They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion,

* Their country is now called Hainault and Cambresis.

† As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebatæ into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, and all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havoc of them.

seeing his danger, run from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle. But though encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of sixty thousand not above five hundred were saved, and out of four hundred Nervian senators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and as Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconsul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their masters, and above two hundred senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. The last particular appeared extremely absurd to all men of sense. They who received so much of Cæsar's money, persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man sighed inwardly while he suffered the decree to pass.

Cato, indeed, was absent, having been sent with a commission to Cyprus on purpose that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's steps, vigorously opposed those measures; and when he found that his opposition availed nothing, he left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whose smile alone they lived, and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Teucteri,* two great German nations, having crossed the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall take from Cæsar's own Commentaries. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheless they attacked him as he was making an excursion. With only eight hundred horse, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day they sent other deputies to apologize for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius writes, that when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and pro

* The people of the *March* and of *Westphalia*, and those of *Munster* and *Cleves*.

This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the *Adyatici* by Cæsar; of seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir; offers of submission from several nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon *Galba* in his winter quarters at *Octodurus*, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the *Veneti*, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of *Aquitaine*. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the *War in Gaul*.

cessions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were four hundred thousand killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. Cæsar laid hold of this pretence against that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, so immense a bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the most warlike nations in Germany, having retired into the heart of their forests, and concealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better disposed Germans in the interest of Rome;* after which he returned into Gaul, having spent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and

fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness.† He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished. he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him, that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in childbed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition. For the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large,‡ he was forced to divide it, for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which he took the road to Italy according to custom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls rising again, traversed the country with considerable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and insulted their intrenchments. The most numerous and the strongest body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off, with their whole party. After which, he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with sixty thousand men;

† It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

‡ This army consisted of eight legions; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence. He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of a hundred miles.

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

an though the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength; they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, at last getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed seven thousand, hastened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the smallness of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner; contriving by all these manœuvres to increase the enemy's contempt of him. It succeeded as he wished; the Gauls came up with great insolence and disorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæsar making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success laid the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for farther security, he remained all the winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion towards war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of those he had lost; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this,* the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses they occupied. Besides, it was then the most severe

season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner, that they looked like so many ponds; the roads lay concealed in snow; or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the Arverni† and Carnutes‡. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome. But had he stayed a little longer, till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been less dreadful to Italy now, than those of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors; and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted. For where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Edui§ also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay throughout Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones,||

+ The people of Auvergne, particularly those of Clermont and St. Flour.

‡ The people of Chartres and Orleans.

§ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons upon Sone, and Nevers.

|| The district of Langres.

* Plutarch passes over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri. Cæsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

in order to come into that of the Sequani,* who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arveni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia† with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thousand; and there were not less than seventy thousand combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing, is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a secret to the troops in the town.‡ It is still

more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia, and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself, and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up: whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself: and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted, that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price

* The district of Besaçon.

† Cæsar calls it Alexia, now Alise, near Flavigny.

‡ Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offensive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants, keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling them, "The marks on his back were so many additional proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go shew them to Cæsar.

But, after the consulship of Marcellus,

Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he paid off the vast debts of Curio the tribune; he presented the consul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood. Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him, for his wars in that country; and Cæsar returned them, with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back, spread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions they had of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services: for to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other

was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces?" and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second.* After which, Antony put the question, "Whether both should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but arms should be employed against a public robber," made the senate break up; and on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar, with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio

with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves;† for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers: his enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords without any other armour, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at a public show of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment, where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion, as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped, to weigh with himself its inconveniences; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides,

* Dio says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

† Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried out, "The die is cast!" and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before daylight and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country; not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence; for the whole was a prey to contrary passions and the most violent convulsions. Those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of what was to come; which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against himself and his country; others, for permitting Lentulus to overrule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him, "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had made in the senate, in which he

bade them take no thought about preparations for the war; for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities; and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls too fled with him without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tossed about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar. For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under him with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheless, Cæsar sent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius* in despair ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison.

* Lucius Domitius Ænonbarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

He took the draught prepared for him as a sure means of death; but, soon after, hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the hasty resolution he had taken. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drank was a sleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him such spirits that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this transaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the mean time Cæsar, having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundisium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself, as we have related at large in his life. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days without spilling a drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission: whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, you have nothing to do but to withdraw: indeed, war will not bear much liberty of speech. When I say this, I am departing from my own right: for you and all, whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treasury.

and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder for me to say than to do." Metellus, terrified with his menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with every thing necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, from whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine: yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piso pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. The senate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundisium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horse and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the athenian month *Posideon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back* his ships to

* He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer, losing the opportunity

Brundisium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to the port. "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to the same impressions with other men? The gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of storms and tempests. And it is in this season that he would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundisium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundisium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundisium.* In the night, therefore,

of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burned them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

* Most historians blame this as a rash action; and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another less dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country and in

he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind, rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the waves dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar, perceiving this, rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundisium with troops.† Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provision both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The soldiers, however

that disguise passed through the enemy's sentinels and troops to his own camp.

† Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions, that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

found great relief from a root* in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it in among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth produced such roots, they would certainly besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impene-trable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's intrenchments,† and Cæsar had the advantage in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, insomuch that no less than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man, to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either

* This root was called *Clæra*. Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

† Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost nine hundred and sixty foot, four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned just now that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land-side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their intrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew, "This day victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life; for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar: they considered it as a slight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence. He was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantage of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up intrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet; and what was still a more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and

provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen; for when he saw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired, weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he succeeded so ill in his command, that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi,* a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper; for, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in the Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that all the people

of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons; besides they were much more numerous than Cæsar's, being seven thousand to one thousand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thousand, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose to wait for those troops, or to risk a battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Let us not wait; but do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as possible, to an action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the first victim, the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæsar then asked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage? He answered, "It is you who can best resolve that question. The gods announce a great change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at present, the alteration will be for the worse; if otherwise, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brightness, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæsar, however,

* Cæsar perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general assault, about three in the afternoon; and though the walls were very high, carried it before sunset.

so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotusa.*

But as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up, and told him, the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do when the enemy's horse came to charge.† Pompey's disposition was this: He commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a successful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking that no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but they must necessarily be broken in pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct; he said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole.‡

* Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

† Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Arranius, not Lucius Domitius Enobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing.—Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say who commanded there, but he says, "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army." See the notes on the life of Pompey.

‡ Cæsar was so confident of success that

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius Crassinus?§ How, think you, do we stand?"—"Cæsar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of a hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar's right wing; but before they could begin the attack,|| the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind came up boldly to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at

he ordered his intrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

§ Plutarch, in the *Life of Pompey*, calls him *Crassianus*. Cæsar calls him *Crastinus*.

|| Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *bell. Civil. lib. iii.*

last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had beaten them off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What! into my camp too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortunes befell him afterwards, how he put himself in the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced me; for had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that he afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above six thousand soldiers.* Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus,

who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of Victory, and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now draws to a decision; the two generals are engaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror." As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head and swore, "He would never put it on again till the event had put his art beyond question." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege on the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables, and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory

* Cæsar says, there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thousand prisoners; and that on his side, the loss amounted only to about two hundred private soldiers and thirty centurions.

was, in saving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Caesar. Hence it is said, that Caesar began to pass the nights in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all that he said and did with respect to Caesar was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with was old and musty, and he told them, "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas. Caesar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks. But Caesar told him, "He had no need of Egyptian counsellors," and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus, the Sicilian with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for the palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Caesar. This stratagem of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her the way to Caesar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast, by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her

brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occasion; when a servant of Caesar's, who was his barber, a timorous and suspicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing, and to listen every where about the palace, found that Achilles the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Caesar's life. Caesar, being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall and killed Photinus. But Achilles escaped to the army, and involved Caesar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops, he had to make head against a great city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty he met with* was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter.† The second was, the loss of his ships in harbour, which he was forced to burn himself, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace, burned the great Alexandrian library. The third‡ was in the sea-light near the isle of Pharos, when, seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming.§ Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, it is said he held

* He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achilles, who had made himself master of Alexandria. Cæs. Bell. Civil. Lib. iii. sub. finem.

+ They also contrived to raise the seawater by engines and pour it into Caesar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Caesar ordered wells to be dug, and in a night's time got a sufficient quantity of fresh water. Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.

‡ First, there was a general naval engagement; after which Caesar attacked the island, and, last of all, the mole. It was in this last attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

§ His first intention was to gain the Admiral's galley; but finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley soon went to the bottom.

them above water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sunk soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar an opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsarion.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bythynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch with which he gained his victory, he made use only of three words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." Their having all the same form and termination in the Roman language adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared consul for the year ensuing. But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens,* instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a

thousand drachmas notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius,† who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa where they raised a respectable army with the assistance of King Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse.‡ After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears from the life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore there is, probably, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

‡ He embarked six legions and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first, many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

* But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African who danced, and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again; on which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "Look on this side for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad

to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men.

Such is the account some give us of the action; others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them, being afterwards taken, despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica,* which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before; for how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he poured so much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written with a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was composed on such an occasion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the superior eloquence of the author as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar

* Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had laid about a hundred years. Two years after, they were both repopled with Roman colonies.

was piqued at the success of a work, which, in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both books have still their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic* measures of wheat, and three million of pounds of oil. After this he led up several triumphs over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When those exhibitions were over †

* *Medimni*. See the table of weights and measures.

† Buald takes notice of three great mistakes in this passage. The first is, where it is said that Cæsar took a *census* of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself, in the Marmora Ancyrana, says, that in his sixth consulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that, before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand were reduced, by that war, to a hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while after, Cæsar made a draught of

an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and twenty thousand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and such a number of the people did it take off, to say nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the rest of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected consul the fourth time; and the first thing he undertook was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thousand of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only a thousand, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but that was the first time he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia*, which was the same day that Pompey the great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on the account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he

eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. But what is still stranger, eighteen years after, Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand, as Suetonius assures us. From a passage in the same author (*Life of Cæsar*, chap. iv.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise.

proved at last unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, before this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the taking one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed contended with each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar; for he not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius for instance; for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture; he erected them again. On which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, had established his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. For, he said, "It was better to die once, than to live always in fear of death." He esteemed the affection of

the people most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places that he colonized were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable, that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the prospects of hope; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people. For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly towards the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninus Rebilus* consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house; on which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay our compliment to the consul, before his office is expired."

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he had performed by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian sea and Mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself; and then to return by Gaul to Rome; thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every side.

* Macrobius calls him *Rebilus*.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He designed also to covey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Cirræi, and so into the sea near Tarra-cina for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public spirited work that he meditated was to drain all the marshes by Nomentum and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed farther to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice, by little and little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution; but even in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew any thing about it, used to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Mercidonus*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time; as we have observed in that prince's life.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention fur-

nished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I mistake not,) when some one happened to say, "*Lyra* will rise to-morrow," answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it:" as if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said, "He was not called king, but Cæsar." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done.—When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address, was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours than to enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house; and laying his neck bare, told his friends "He was ready for the first hand that would strike." He then be-thought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse: and asserted that those who are under its influence are apt to find their faculties fail them when they speak standing: a trembling and giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This,

however, was not really the case; for it is said, he was desirous to rise to the senate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had servility enough to say, "Will you not remember that you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court to you as their superior?"

These discontents were greatly increased by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which answers in many respects to the *Lycæa* amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and, by way of diversion, strike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the first quality put themselves in their way, and presented their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master,) being persuaded that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæsar wore a triumphal robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the *rostra*, to see the ceremony.

Antony ran among the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this some plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there on purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness; but when Cæsar rejected it again, the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the capitol.

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutus*, because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the

senate and people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times *Brutes* and *Cumæans*.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in these terms, "Thou sleepest, Brutus;" or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Cassius perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise, for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar, for the reasons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and

government, he said, "I have no apprehensions from those fat and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean ones;" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret as it is inevitable; for we are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burned, yet when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said laughing, "The ides of March are come;" to which he answered, softly, "Yes; but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed, by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the pinnacle*

was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, the next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and, if he paid no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the meantime, Decius Brutus,† surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence that he had appointed him his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occasion of complaint against him. "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, and came prepared with one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by land and sea every where out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, now they have taken their places, they must go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have better dreams, what room will your enemies have to launch out against you? Or who will hear your friends when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other? If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have strong reasons for putting off

gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

† Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*; but his name was *Decimus Brutus*. See Appian and Suetonius.

* The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statutes of their

business till another time." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, and quickly; for it contains matters of great consequence, and of the last concern to you." He took it and attempted several times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say, it was delivered to him by another man,* Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid before the great attempt. The arduous occasion, it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was

held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metilius Cimber,† for the recall of his brother from exile. They continued their entreaties till he came to his seat. When he was seated he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber,‡ then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time the both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators,

‡ Metilius is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Antilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him Metellius Cimber; and others suppose we should read M. Tullius Cimber.

‡ Here in the original it is Metilius again.

* By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch says, in the *Life of Brutus*; Appian says the same; and Cicero too, in his second Philippic.

he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood : so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him ; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses ; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion : one was running to see the spectacle, another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them and mingled with their train ; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity ; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives ; for no body believed that they had any part in the enterprise ; and they were punished not for the deed, but the will.

Next day Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators came down from the capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty ; and, to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship ; while on Brutus and his friends they

bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable : so that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They stopped the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burned the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city, to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in pieces ; but they had taken such care to secure themselves that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and, upon his refusal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar was to be burned in the *forum*, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, " Who that was ? " and having learned his name, told it his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murderers ; and, indeed, one of the conspirators was named Cinna. The multitude, taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him in pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace that, a few days after, they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings, and death, may be found in the *Life of Brutus*.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at last. But he reaped no other fruit from it than an empty and invidious title. It

is true the Divine Power, which conducted him through life, attended him after his death as his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipped their hands in his blood or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens was that of a great comet,* which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarefies it; and the fruits were so crude and uncooked that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for it was natural for him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burned

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a sign that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods; for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue consecrated soon after in the forum."

Fragm. AUG. CÆS. ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 25.

very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke any thing to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot.†

† Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts, snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and minuter traits, which, as he elsewhere justly observes, distinguish and characterise the man more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under restraint; has skimmed over his actions and shown a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself, in the narrative of other lives. Yet from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a man of great and distinguished virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far as to put so early a period to his race of glory.



PHOCION.

DEMADES the orator, by studying in his whole administration to please the Macedonians and Antipater, had great authority in Athens. When he found himself by that complaisance often obliged to propose laws and make speeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he used to say, "He was excusable, because he came to the helm when the commonwealth was no more than a wreck." This, assertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the administration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country. He pursued such a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater scrupled not to say of him, when he was grown old, "That he was like a sacrificed beast, all consumed except his tongue and his paunch."* But the virtue of Phocion found a strong and powerful adversary in the times, and its glory was obscured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For virtue is not so weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the sentiment just which he puts in the mouth of one of the persons of his drama.

* The tongue and the paunch were not burned with the rest of the victim. The paunch used to be stuffed and served up at table, and the tongue was burned on the altar at the end of the entertainment in honour of Mercury, and had libations poured upon it. Of this there are many examples in Homer's *Odyssey*.

—The finest mind will fail
Beneath misfortune's stroke, and, stunn'd,
depart
From its sage plan of action.†

All the advantage that fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous is, the bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs prosper, the people elated with their strength and success, behave with greater insolence to good ministers; but it is the very reverse. Misfortunes always sour their temper; the least thing will then disturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the least severity of expression. He who reproves their faults, seems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so it often happens, that a remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and sense, hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant, by the word *menoikes*, which signifies what is *symphonious to the mind*, what soothes its weakness, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to

† SOPHOC. *Antig.* l. 569, and 570.

dwell upon dark brown colours, and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill-conducted and unprosperous measures; such is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the least alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpressible pain, though not only salutary, but necessary; and it will not be heard, except its harshness is modified. It is a difficult task to govern such a people; for if the man who tells them the truth falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them at last perishes with them.

The mathematicians say, the sun does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite, but circulating with a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives the whole system such a temperature as tends to its preservation. So in a system of government, if a statesman is determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to go against the inclinations of the people, such rigour must make his administration odious; and, on the other hand, if he suffers himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will soon be in a tottering and ruinous state. The latter is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening the reins, and sometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles; for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many useful schemes, which they could not be brought into by despotism and violence. It must be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this sublime harmony the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irresistible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato. There was nothing

engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was not great. Cicero's says, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means fell short of the consulate."* His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old fashioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the splendour of reputation which such a phenomenon could claim, but it did not answer the exigences of the state; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. Indeed his circumstances were not altogether like those of Phocion, who came not into the administration till the state was sinking;† whereas Cato had only to save the ship beaten about in the storm. At the same time we must allow that he had not the principal direction of her; he sat not at the helm; he could do no more than help to hand the sails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the common wealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by slow steps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being saved by Cato and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, so as to say, they were both persons of integrity, and able statesmen; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themistocles and that of Aristides were not the same; justice was of one kind in Numa, and in Agesilaus of another:

* The passage here referred to is in the first epistle of Cicero's second book to Atticus. But we find nothing there of the repulse Cato met with in his application for the consulship. That repulse, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of that epistle.

† Our author means that uncommon and extraordinary efforts were more necessary to save the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ship, yet whole and entire, from sinking.

but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular; their impression, form and colour, are perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the same solicitude for others, and disregard for themselves; the same abhorrence of every thing base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment to justice on all occasions: so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely discriminated sounds of the organ,* to mark the difference in their characters.

It is universally agreed that Cato was of an illustrious pedigree, which we shall give some account of in his life; and we conjecture, that Phocion's was not mean or obscure; for had he been the son of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the son of Hyperides, among a thousand other things, in the treatise which he wrote on purpose to disparage him. Nor if his birth had been so low, would he have had so good an education, or such a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that, when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the academy; and from the very first he distinguished himself by his strong application to the most valuable studies. Durius tells us, the Athenians never saw him either laugh or cry, or make use of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloak when he was dressed to appear in public. If he made an excursion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always barefooted, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold: and then his soldiers used to laugh, and say, "It is a sign of a sharp winter; Phocion has got his clothes on."

He was one of the most humane and best tempered men in the world, and yet he had so ill-natured and forbidding a look, that strangers were afraid to address him without company. Therefore, when Chares, the orator, observed to

* The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Ctesibius, who, according to Athenæus, placed in the temple of Zephyrus, at Alexandria, a tube, which, collecting air by the appulsive motion of water, emitted musical sounds, either by their strength adapted to war, or by their lightness to festivity.

the Athenians, what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themselves merry, he said, "This brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of sorrow; but the laughter of these sneerers has cost their country many a tear." In like manner, though the measures he proposed were happy ones, and his counsels of the most salutary kind, yet he used no flowers of rhetoric; his speeches were concise, commanding, and severe; for, as Zeno says, that a philosopher should never let a word come out of his mouth that is not strongly tinged with sense; so Phocion's oratory contained the most sense in the fewest words. And it seems that Polyæctus the Sphettian had this in view when he said, Demosthenes was the better orator, and Phocion the more persuasive speaker." His speeches were to be estimated like coins, not for the size, but for the intrinsic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was observed behind the scenes wrapped up in thought, when one of his friends took occasion to say, "What! at your meditations, Phocion?" "Yes," said he, "I am considering whether I cannot shorten what I have to say to the Athenians." And Demosthenes, who despised the other orators, when Phocion got up, used to say to his friends softly, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be ascribed to the excellence of his character, since a word or a nod from a person revered for his virtue is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him.—In some degree too he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times scarce any thing could move him, in time of action was violent, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. At last it cost him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other galleys to the isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of sword. Phocion whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too

slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity to distinguish himself, and he made such use of it that victory soon declared for the Athenians; and as this was the first victory they had gained at sea, in a dispute with Greeks, since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person in whom they should one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great mysteries: and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands, to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, "If you send me against enemies, such a fleet is too small; if to friends, one ship is sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner, he succeeded so well as to return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, and at the same time put their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but, after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus he took peculiar care to form him to virtue; and though he found him very stupid and untractable, yet he still laboured to correct his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions, and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at last he cried out, "O Chabrias, Chabrias! what a return do I make thee for thy favours, in bearing with the impertinences of thy son."

He observed, that those who took upon them the management of public affairs, made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addressed the people from the rostrum, and proposed new edicts; while Diophanes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals; for he thought their fame more complete; each of these great men (to use the words of Archilochus) appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the muse:

and he knew that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own, or of the preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it when called to that honour by his countrymen. It is certain, he was elected general no less than five and forty times, without once attending to the election; being always appointed in his absence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised that the people should set such a value on Phocion, who generally opposed their inclinations, and never said or did any thing with a view to recommend himself. For as princes divert themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen, and the man of the severest manners, who had combated their capricious humours and desires the most. This he scrupled not to avow; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing, "That the rest of the Athenians were unanimous in

their opinions, and that there was only one man who dissented from them," Phocion stepped up and told them, "They need not give themselves any trouble in inquiring for this refractory citizen, for he was the man who liked not any thing they did." And another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends, and said, "Have I inadvertently let some bad thing slip from me."

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charges of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest: but he bade them apply to the rich: "I should be ashamed," said he, "to give you any thing, and not pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the usurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teasing, he told them this tale: "A cowardly fellow once resolved to make a campaign; but when he was set out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down his arms and stopped. When the first alarm was a little over, he marched again. The ravens renewed their croaking, and then he made a full stop, and said, you may croak your hearts out if you please, but you shall not taste my carcass."

The Athenians once insisted on his leading them against the enemy, and when he refused, they told him, nothing could be more dastardly and spiritless than his behaviour. He answered, "You can neither make me valiant, nor can I make you cowards: however, we know one another very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and demanded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which, he only said, "My good friends, first get out of your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive, and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion, he had robbed them of the victory which was in their hands, he said, "It is happy for you that you have a general who knows you; otherwise you would have been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Boeotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, "Good people, keep to the method in which you have the advantage; and that is talking, not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him the hearing. But he said, "Though you can make me act against my judgment, you shall never make me speak so."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, "The Athenians, will certainly kill thee, Phocion, some time or other:" he answered, "They may kill *me*, if they are mad; but it will be *you*, if they are in their senses."

When Polyenctus, the Sphettian, advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and perspired so violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water, before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in such a condition, thus addressed the assembly—"You have great reason to pass an edict for the war, upon this man's recommendation; for what are you not to expect from him, when loaded with a suit of armour he marches against the enemy, if in delivering to you (peaceable folks) a speech which he had composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated?"

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly, and, among the rest, observed, that when Alexander demanded ten of their orators, Phocion gave it as his opinion, that they should be delivered to him. "It is true," said Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counsel, but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconistes, by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedæmonian manner, wearing a thread-bare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his assertions much contradicted in the assembly called upon this man to support the truth and rectitude of what he had said. Archibiades, however, ranged himself on the people's side, and

advised what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, said, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it, cut it off."

Aristogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and pressed them much to declare war. But when the lists came to be made out, of those that were to serve, this swaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he sat upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this form, called out to his secretary, "to put down Aristogiton a cripple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them, that it seems strange that a man of such austere and unpopular manners should ever get the surname of the *Good*. It is indeed difficult, but, I believe, not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour; and on the other hand, some men, who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case, the saying of Hyperides to the people of Athens deserves notice: "Examine not whether I am severe upon you, but whether I am so for my own sake." As if it were avarice only that makes a minister odious to the people, and the abuse of power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any man in his private capacity, or considered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly severe against every man who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour, in other respects, was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to assist, and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends, one day, finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it, he said, "The good have no need of an advocate." Aristogiton, the informer, being condemned, and committed to prison, begged the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends dissuaded him from it, but he said, "Let

me alone, good people. Where can one rather wish to speak to Aristogiton than in a prison?"

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with that people, looked upon every such commander as an enemy; they strengthened their walls, shut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the slaves, the women and children, out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships, with chaplets on their heads, and every expression of joy; and in that manner conducted him into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose sent in forces from Macedon, as well as practised upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Hereupon, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, and entreated them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians: in consequence of which they sent Phocion at first with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them but treasonable designs and disaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money. For this reason he seized an eminence separated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that post he secured the best of his troops. As for the disorderly, the talkative, and cowardly part of the soldiers, if they attempted to desert and steal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. "For," said he, "if they stay here, such is their want of discipline, that, instead of being serviceable, they will be prejudicial in time of action; and, as they will be conscious to themselves of flying from their colours, we shall not have so much noise and calumny from them in Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand to their arms, but not attempt any thing till he had made an end of his sacrifice; and, whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not easily find the auspicious tokens, or was desirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Meanwhile, Plutarch, imagin-

ing that this delay was owing to his fear and irresolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry seeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced against the enemy, though in a scattered and disorderly manner, as they happened to issue out of the camp. The first line being soon broken, all the rest dispersed, and Plutarch himself fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the intrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, supposing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that instant Phocion had finished his sacrifice, and the Athenians, sallving out of the camp, fell upon the assailants, routed them, and cut most of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover such as were dispersed in the first attack, while he, with a select party, went and charged the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued, both sides behaving with great spirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, who fought near the general's person, distinguished themselves the most. Cleophanes, too, did great service in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and insisting that they should come to the assistance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge; and by the assistance which they gave the infantry, secured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himself master of Zaretra, a fort, advantageously situated where the island draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each side by the sea. He did not choose, in pursuance of his victory, to take the Greeks prisoners, lest the Athenians, influenced by their orators, should, in the first motions of resentment, pass some unequitable sentence upon them.

After this great success, he sailed back to Athens. The allies soon found the want of his goodness and justice, and the Athenians saw his capacity and courage in a clear light. For Molossus, who succeeded him, conducted the war so ill as to fall himself into the

enemy's hands. Philip, now rising in his designs and hopes, marched to the Hellespont with all his forces, in order to seize at once on the Chersonesus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to send succours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commission to Chares. Accordingly he sailed to those parts, but did nothing worthy of such a force as he was intrusted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, suspected by all, he beat about, raising contributions where he could upon the allies, and, at the same time, was despised by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other side, exasperated the people to such a degree, that they repented of having sent any succours to the Byzantians. Then Phocion rose up, and told them, "They should not be angry at the suspicions of the allies, but at their own generals, who deserved not to have any confidence placed in them; for on their account," said he, "you are looked upon with an eye of jealousy by the very people who cannot be saved without your assistance." This argument had such an effect on them, that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies upon the Hellespont.

This contributed more than any thing to the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great; besides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but opening their gates, received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, charmed with this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation; for till then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several cities which he had garrisoned; and making descents in various parts of his territories, he

harassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, happening to be wounded by a party that made head against him, he weighed anchor and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians applied to him privately for assistance; and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Bœotians would prevent him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner given their sanction to the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound, as a signal for them to arm; after which he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The first thing he did was to fortify Nisæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and having now little to fear from the enemy on the land side, was secured in the Athenian interest.

The Athenians being now clearly in a state of hostility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals, in the absence of Phocion. But, on his return from the islands, he represented to the people, that as Philip was peaceably disposed, and apprehensive of the issue of the war, it was best to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of those public barreters, who spend their whole time in the court of Heliaca, and make it their business to form impeachments, opposed him, and said, "Dare you, Phocion, pretend to dissuade the Athenians from war, now the sword is drawn?"—"Yes," said he, "I dare; though I know thou wouldst be in my power in time of war, and I shall be in thine in time of peace." Demosthenes, however, carried it against him for war; which he advised the Athenians to make at the greatest distance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occasion to say, "My good friend, consider not so much where we shall fight, as how we shall conquer. For victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a distance: If we are beaten, every danger will soon be at our gates."

The Athenians did lose the day; after which, the most factious and troublesome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the hustings, and in-

sisted that he should have the command. This alarmed the real well-wishers to their country so much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their assistance; and it was not without many tears, and the most earnest entreaties, that they prevailed upon the assembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He was of opinion, that the other proposals of Philip should be readily accepted, because they seemed to be dictated by humanity; but when Demades moved that Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the states of Greece, should have the same terms with the other cities, Phocion said, "It ought not to be agreed to, till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were against him, however, and he was overruled. And when he saw the Athenians repented afterwards, because they found themselves obliged to furnish Philip both with ships of war, and cavalry, he said, "This was the thing I feared; and my opposition was founded upon it. But since you have signed the treaty, you must bear its inconveniences without murmuring or despondence; remembering that your ancestors sometimes gave law to their neighbours, and sometimes were forced to submit, but did both with honour; and by that means saved themselves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not suffer any sacrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing," said he, "could show greater meanness of spirit than expressions of joy on the death of an enemy. What great reason, indeed, is there for it, when the army you fought with at Cheronæa is lessened only by one man?"

Demosthenes gave into invectives against Alexander when he was marching against Thebes; the ill policy of which Phocion easily perceived, and said,

"What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
Whose arm may sink us at a single stroke?"*

POPE, *Odys.* 2

* These words are addressed to Ulysses by his companions, to restrain him from provoking the giant, Polyphemus, after they were escaped out of his cave, and got on board their ship.

"When you see such a dreadful fire near you, would you plunge Athens into it? For my part, I will not suffer you to ruin yourselves, though your inclinations lie that way; and to prevent every step of that kind, is the end I proposed in taking the command."

When Alexander had destroyed Thebes, he sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole assembly cast their eyes upon Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At last he rose up; and placing him by one of his friends, who had the greatest share in his confidence and affection, he expressed himself as follows: "The persons whom Alexander demands have brought the commonwealth into such miserable circumstances, that if he demanded even my friend Nicocles, I should vote for delivering him up. For my own part, I should think it the greatest happiness to die for you all. At the same time, I am not without compassion for the poor Thebans who have taken refuge here, but it is enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, without weeping for Athens too. The best measure, then, we can take, is to intercede with the conqueror for both, and by no means to think of fighting."

The first decree drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies; but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counsellors informed him, stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He, therefore, not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but even listened to his counsel. Phocion advised him, "If tranquillity was his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, to leave the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms against the barbarians." In the course of their conference, he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander's disposition and sentiments, that his resentment against the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he was pleased to say, "The people of Athens must be very attentive to the affairs of Greece; for, if any thing happens to

me, the supreme direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and did him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us, that after that prince was risen to superior greatness, by the conquest of Darius, and had left out the word *chairein*, the common form of salutation in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody besides, except Antipater. Chares asserts the same.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the persons employed in that commission, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he should be singled out as the object of such bounty?"—"Because," said they, "Alexander looks upon you as the only honest and good man."—"Then," said Phocion, "let him permit me always to retain that character, as well as really to be that man." The envoys then went home with him, and when they saw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himself drawing water, and afterwards washing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the present. They told him "It gave them real uneasiness, and was indeed an intolerable thing, that the friend of so great a prince should live in such a wretched manner." At that instant, a poor old man happening to pass by, in a mean garment, Phocion asked the envoys, "Whether they thought worse of him than of that man?" As they begged of him not to make such a comparison, he rejoined, "Yet that man lives upon less than I do, and is contented. In one word, it will be to no purpose for me to have so much money, if I do not use it: and if I was to live up to it, I should bring both myself, and the king, your master, under the censure of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks, *That the man who did not want such a sum of money, was richer than he who could bestow it.*

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alexander wrote to Phocion "That he could not number those

among his friends, who would not receive his favours." Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he desired the king to set at liberty Echekratides the sophist, and Athenodorus the Iberian, as also Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in custody at Sardis. Alexander granted his request immediately; and afterwards, when he sent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of these four cities in Asia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylassa, or Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged if he refused his second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon after.

Phocion's house is shown to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with some plates of copper, but other wise plain and homely.

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was sister to Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron, no less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, prudence, and simplicity of manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to personate the queen, demanded a suitable mask (and attire), together with a large train of attendants, richly dressed; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour, and refused to make his appearance; by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in, and said, "Thou seest the wife of Phocion appear in public with one maid-servant only, and dost thou come here to show thy pride, and to spoil our women?" As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which the good matron said, "Phocion is my ornament, who is now called the twen-

tieth time to the command of the Athenian armies."

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of the *panathenæa*,* and his father permitted him to make the trial, on condition that it was in the foot-races; not that he set any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exercise might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw every thing prepared in the most extravagant manner, and, among the rest, that wine mingled with spices was provided for washing the feet of the guests. He therefore called his son to him, and said, "Phocus, why do you suffer your friend thus to sully the honour of your victory?"†

In order to correct in his son entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it showed in what contempt he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades, one day, said to him, "Why do not we, Phocion, persuade the people to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you choose it, I will propose a decree for it, and support it in the best manner I am able." "Yes, indeed," said Phocion, "it would become you much, with all those perfumes about you, and that pride of dress, to launch out in praise of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonian frugality."

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," said he, "that you should either have the sharpest sword, or keep upon good terms with those who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he first began to speak in public, had a torrent of

* See the Life of Theseus.

† The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise, to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

words and the most consummate assurance. Upon which Phocion said, "Is it for thee to prate so who art but a novice amongst us?"

When Harpalus had traitorously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number, of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of sharing in the spoil. He gave these some small taste of his wealth, but to Phocion he sent no less than seven hundred talents; assuring him, at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus should repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt the city." And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days after, a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken his money in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to serve him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to shake his integrity, but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and his success with him gave just cause of offence; for all the world saw how intimate he was with him, and that all his business went through his hands. Upon the death of his mistress Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, he even employed Charicles to get a superb monument built for her, and for that purpose furnished him with vast sums. This commission, dishonourable enough in itself, became more so by the manner in which he acquitted himself of it. For the monument is still to be seen at Hermos, on the road between Athens and Eleusis; and there appears nothing in it answerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in.* After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion

took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last, Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had received of Harpalus; and he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in the court. But Phocion answered, "I made you my son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes."

The first person that brought the news of Alexander's death was Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus. Demades desired the people to give no credit to it: "For," said he, "if Alexander were dead, the whole world would smell the carcass." And Phocion, seeing the Athenians elated, and inclined to raise new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however, ascended the rostrum, and assured the people, that the tidings of Asclepiades were true: "Well then," said Phocion, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow and the day following; so that we may deliberate on that event at our leisure, and take our measures with safety."

When Leosthenes, by his intrigues, had involved Athens in the Lamiæ war, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he asked him in a scoffing manner, "What good he had done his country, during the many years that he was general?" "And dost thou think it nothing, then," said Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors?" As Leosthenes continued to harangue the people in the most arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion said, "Young man, your speeches are like cypress trees, large and lofty, but without fruit." Hyperides rose up and said, "Tell us then, what will be the proper time for the Athenians to go to war?" Phocion answered, "I do not think it advisable till the young men keep within the bounds of order and propriety, the rich become liberal in their contributions, and the orators forbear robbing the public."

Most people admired the forces raised by Leosthenes; and when they asked Phocion his opinion of them, he said, "I like them very well for a short race;† but I dread the conse-

+ Or rather, "I think they may run very

* Yet Pausanias says, it was one of the completest and most curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it stood on the other side of the river Cephissus.

quence of a long one. The supplies, the ships, the soldiers, are all very good; but they are the last we can produce." The event justified his observation. Leosthenes at first gained great reputation by his achievements; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occasion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, spent their time in mutual entertainments and in sacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and asked him, "Whether he should not have wished to have done such great things?" "Certainly I should," said Phocion; "but still I should advise you not to have attempted them." And when letters and messengers from the army came one after another, with an account of farther success, he said, "When shall we have done conquering?"

Leosthenes died soon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion was elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, instructed a man that was little known, to make a motion in the assembly, importing, "That, as an old friend and schoolfellow of Phocion, he desired the people to spare him, and preserve him for the most pressing occasions, because there was not another man in their dominions to be compared to him." At the same time he was to recommend Antiphras for the command. The Athenians embracing the proposal, Phocion stood up and told them, "He never was that man's schoolfellow, nor had he any acquaintance with him, but from this moment," said he, turning to him, "I shall number thee amongst my best friends, since thou hast advised what is most agreeable to me."

The Athenians were strongly inclined to prosecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocion at first as strongly opposed it. His friends represented to him, that this violent opposition of his would provoke them to put him to

well from the starting post to the extremity of the course; but I know not how they will hold it back again." The Greeks had two sorts of races; the *stadium*, in which they ran only right out to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran right out, and then back again.

death, "They may do it, if they please," said he, "it will be unjustly, if I advise them for the best; but justly, if I should prevaricate." However, when he saw that they were not to be persuaded, and that they continued to besiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, "That all the Athenians, who were not more than sixty years above the age of puberty, should take five days provisions, and follow him immediately from the assembly to the field."

This raised a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim against the order, and to walk off. Upon which Phocion said, "Does this disturb you, when I, who am fourscore years old, shall be at the head of you?" That short remonstrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a considerable corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the seacoast and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced against him with a body of Athenians. On this occasion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or advise him how to proceed. One counselled him to secure such an eminence, another to send his cavalry to such a post, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. "Heavens!" said Phocion, "how many generals we have, and how few soldiers!"

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he saw an enemy stepping out to meet him, his heart failed him and he drew back to his post. Whereupon Phocion said, "Young man, are not you ashamed to desert your station twice in one day; that in which I had placed you, and that in which you had placed yourself?" Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers among whom was their general, Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle, though Leonatus and the Macedonians from Asia had joined him. In this action Antiphras commanded the foot, and Menon the Thessalian horse; Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this, Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army and

another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practice of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly towards Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to answer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced seven times for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared infamous, and incapable of speaking in the assembly. But now finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man they could trust. Upon which he said, "If you had followed the counsel I gave you, we should not have had now to deliberate on such an affair." Thus the decree passed, and Phocion was despatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea,* and was preparing to enter Attica.

His first requisition was, that Antipater would finish the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus said, it was an unreasonable demand; that they should remain there to be troublesome to their friends and allies, when they might subsist at the expense of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and said, "Let us indulge Phocion so far." As to the conditions, he insisted that the Athenians should leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leosthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of necessity; and then returned to Thebes, with other ambassadors, the principal of whom was

* Dacier, without any necessity, supposes that Plutarch uses the word Cadmea for Bœotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being understood so; but it is plain from what follows that Antipater then lay at Thebes, and probably in the Cadmea or citadel.

Xenocrates the philosopher; for the virtue and reputation of the latter were so great and illustrious that the Athenians thought that there could be nothing in human nature so insolent, savage, and ferocious as not to feel some impressions of respect and reverence at the sight of him. It happened, however, otherwise with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the rest with great cordiality, but would not even speak to Xenocrates; which gave him occasion to say, "Antipater does well in being ashamed before me, and me only, of his injurious designs against Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to speak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed.† To Phocion's discourse, however, he gave attention; and answered, that he should grant the Athenians peace, and consider them as his friends, on the following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. In the next place, they must put their government on the ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced to the great offices of state. A third article is, that they must receive a garrison into Munychia; and a fourth, that they must pay the expenses of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these conditions. That philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us if he considers us as slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to

+ Yet he had behaved to him with great kindness when he was sent to ransom the prisoners. Antipater, on that occasion, took the first opportunity to invite him to supper; and Xenocrates answered in those verses of Homer which Ulysses addressed to Circe, who pressed him to partake of the delicacies she had provided:—

Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feasts.
Me wouldst thou please? For them thy cares employ;

And them to me restore, and me to joy.

Antipater was so charmed with the happy application of these verses, that he released all the prisoners.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

have answered, "Phocion, we will grant thee every thing, except what would be the ruin of both us and thee." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians as to the garrison, he would undertake for their observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon, surnamed, Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, started up and said, "Antipater, why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should give you his word, would you depend upon it, and not abide by your first resolutions?"

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garrison entered; which was the twentieth of the month of September,* when they were celebrating the great mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances they saw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occasion to reflect on the difference of the divine dispensations with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times. "Formerly," said they, "mystic visions were seen, and voices heard, to the great happiness of the republic, and the terror and astonishment of our enemies. But now, during the same ceremonies, the gods look without concern upon the severest misfortunes that can happen to Greece, and suffer the holiest, and what was once the most agreeable time in the year, to be profaned, and rendered the date of the greatest calamities."

A few days before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to secure the promontories of Diana against strangers. And about this time, upon washing the sacred fillets with which they bind the mystic beds, instead of the lively pur-

ple they used to have, they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private persons, which was washed in the same water, retained its former lustre. And as a priest was washing a pig in that part of the port called *Cantharus*, a large fish seized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly; by which the gods plainly announced, that they would lose the lower parts of the city next the sea, and keep the upper.

The garrison commanded by Menyllus, did no sort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government, was upwards of twelve thousand. Such of these as remained in Athens, appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and such as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonæ, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which seemed almost inspired by affection.† The case was the same with them now, as it was with the countryman afterwards upon the death of Antigonus. Those who killed that prince and reigned in his stead, were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peasant, who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking, said, with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expressed equal concern, now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger was appeased: whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command; and, in fact, an oppressor and a tyrant

† The cruel disposition of Antipater, who had insisted upon Demosthenes and Hyperides being giving up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable.

Yet, at the request of Phocion, he recalled many persons from exile; and to such as he did not choose to restore to their own country, granted a commodious situation; for, instead of being forced to reside, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tænarus, he suffered them to remain in Greece, and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agnonides the informer.

In some other instances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and candid manner; raising the modest and the good to the principal employments; and excluding the uneasy and the seditious from all offices; so that having no opportunity to excite troubles, the spirit of faction died away; and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Observing one day that Xenocrates paid a tax as a stranger, he offered to make him a present of his freedom; but he refused it, and assigned this reason—"I will never be a member of that government to prevent the establishment of which I acted in a public character."

Menyllus was pleased to offer Phocion a considerable sum of money. But he said, "Neither is Menyllus a greater man than Alexander: nor have I greater reason to receive a present now than I had then." The governor pressed him to take it at least for his son Phocus; but he answered, "If Phocus becomes sober, his father's estate will be sufficient for him; and if he continues dissolute, nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a more severe answer, when he wanted him to do something inconsistent with his probity. "Antipater," said he, "cannot have me both for a friend and a flatterer." And Antipater himself used to say, "I have two friends in Athens, Phocion and Demades: it is impossible to persuade the one to any thing, or to satisfy the other." Indeed, Phocion had his poverty to show as a proof of his virtue, for though he so often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence; whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in instances that were contrary to law: for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should ap-

pear in the choruses upon the stage, under the penalty of a thousand *drachmas*, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thousand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his son Demea was married, he said, "When I married your mother, the next neighbour hardly knew it; but kings and princes contribute to the expense of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather because he perceived that the people were more sober and submissive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commission. The only thing that he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be insisted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son took a journey to Macedonia. It should seem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness; and when Cassander, now absolute master of every thing, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedonia, "which," he said, "hung only upon an old rotten stalk;" so he contemptuously called Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be arrested; and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near, that the blood spouted upon him, and filled his bosom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiousness, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Cassander the command of a thousand men. But Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to seize the supreme power, and immediately sent Nicanor to take the command of the

garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. This scheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being informed of the death of Antipater, accused Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it; on the contrary, he conversed familiarly with Nicanor; and, by his assiduities, not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition to distinguish himself by exhibiting games and shows to the people.

Meantime Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person was committed,* in order to countermine Cassander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king restored them their ancient form of government;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a snare he laid for Phocion. For, being desirous of making himself master of Athens (as soon appeared from his actions,) he was sensible that he could not effect anything while Phocion was in the way. He saw, too, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were restored; and the orators and public informers were once more masters of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among the people, Nicanor was desired to speak† to them on that subject in the Piræus; and, for that purpose entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid a scheme to seize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his design, guarded against it, and soon showed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands; but he answered, "He could confide in Nicanor's promises, and saw no reason to suspect him of any ill de-

sign. However," said he, "be the issue what it may, I had rather be found suffering than doing what is unjust."

This answer of his, if we examine it with respect to himself only, will appear to be entirely the result of fortitude and honour; but, when we consider that he hazarded the safety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and first magistrate, I know not whether he did not violate a stronger and more respectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war; and for that reason would not seize the person of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of justice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful sense of such behaviour, might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt against the Athenians. For the truth is, he had such confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from several hands of his designs upon the Piræus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis, and of his bribing some of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would give no credit to any of these things. Nay, when Philomedes, of the borough of Lampra, got an edict made, that all the Athenians should take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in pursuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians against him; but, by this time, they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of assisting the city against Nicanor; but, in reality, to avail himself of its fatal divisions, and to seize it, if possible, for himself. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and such citizens as had been stigmatized as infamous, with other mean people, resorted to him, and all together made up a strange disorderly assembly, by whose suffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated inter-

* The son of Alexander who was yet very young.

† Phocion knew that Polyperchon's proposal to restore the democracy was merely a snare, and he wanted to make the Athenians sensible of it.

views, given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedes and Pericles,* that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as did not forsake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Plataea, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who passed for the friends and confidants of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, desired to be of the party.† But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elatea. In the meantime, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon, with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties came up to Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king,‡ near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, situated at the foot of Mount Acrorion, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and, before he proceeded to any other business, gave orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterwards despatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But, as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agnonides pressed forwards and said, "Put us all in one cage, and send us back to Athens, to give an account of our conduct there." The king laughed at the proposal; but the Macedonians who attended on that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause; and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at last was so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and

would speak no more. Hegemon said, Polyperchon himself could bear witness to his affectionate regard for the people; and that general answered, "Do you come here to slander me before the king?" Upon this the king started up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his spear; but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few; who, being at some distance, muffled themselves up, and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing made it a more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the *Archons* had assembled the people. From this assembly neither slaves, nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatized as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was, "That he had found the prisoners guilty of treason; but that he left it to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be governed by their own laws, to pass sentence upon them."

At the same time Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so important a matter to the people, it would be proper to command all slaves and strangers to depart." But the populace, instead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to stone all the favourers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer anything in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permission to speak. At last, silence being made, he said, "Do you design to take away my life justly or unjustly?" Some of them answering, "Justly," he said, "How can you know whether it will be justly, if you do not hear me first?" As he did not find them inclinable in

* *Pericles* here looks like an erroneous reading. Afterwards we find not *Pericles*, but *Charicles* mentioned along with Callimedes. *Charicles* was Phocion's son-in-law.

† This was Aridaeus the natural son of Philip. After some of Alexander's generals had raised him to the throne for their own purposes, he took the name of Philip, and reigned six years and a few months.

the least to hear him, he advanced some paces forward, and said, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you injustice: and for my faults in the administration, adjudge myself guilty of death;* but why will you put these men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made answer, "Because they are friends to you." Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their suffrages whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and if they appeared so, they were to suffer death. When the decree was read, some called for an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and insisted, that the rack and its managers should be sent for immediately. But Agnonides, observing that Clitus was displeased at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said, "When we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture: but, indeed, my fellow citizens, I cannot consent that Phocion should have such hard measure." Upon this, one of the better disposed Athenians cried out, "Thou art certainly right; for if we torture Phocion, what must we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the sentence of death was proposed: all the people gave their voices standing; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, who were absent, the same sentence was passed upon them.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were sent to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the same as when the people sent him out to command their armies; and the beholders could not but admire his in-

vincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even spit in his face: upon which, he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will nobody correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What then!" said the venerable sage, "dost thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him whether he had any commands to his son; "Yes," said he, "by all means, tell him from me, to forget the ill treatment I have had from the Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him; "This," said he, "Nicocles, is a hard request, and the thing must give me great uneasiness; but since I have obliged you in every instance through life, I will do the same in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, "Since one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his money." This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April*,† when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears as they looked at the prison doors: all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing, not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so have kept the city unpolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica; nor that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile. Therefore, no friend durst touch it; but one Cunopion, who lived by such services, carried the corpse out of the territories of Eleusis, and got

* It was the custom for the person accused to lay some penalty on himself. Phocion chooses the highest, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends; but it had not that effect.

† *Munychion*.

fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a *cenotaph* upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods, "Ye guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains of this good man. Do you restore them to the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall once more listen to the dictates of wisdom."

The time was not long before the situation of their affairs taught them how vigilant a magistrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of justice and sobriety, they had lost. The people erected his statue in brass, and buried his remains at the public expense. Agnonides, his principal accuser, they put to death, in consequence of a decree for that purpose. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the

hands of Phocion's son, who punished them as they deserved. This son of his was, in other respects, a worthless man. He was in love with a girl who was in a state of servitude, and belonged to a trader in such matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the atheist maintain this argument in the Lyceum, "That if it is no shame to ransom a friend, it is no shame to redeem a mistress," the discourse was so flattering to his passion, that he went immediately and released his female friend.*

The proceedings against Phocion put the Greeks in mind of those against Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjust, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly similar.†

* It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their mistresses out of such shops; and, after they had released them from servitude, to marry them.

† Socrates was put to death eighty-two years before.



CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its first lustre and distinction from his great grandfather Cato the Censor,* a man whose virtue, as we have observed in his Life, ranked him with persons of the greatest reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan together with his brother Cæpio, and his sister Porcia. He had also another sister, called Servilia, but she was only sister by the mother's side.† The orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, their mother's brother, who at that time had a great influence in the administration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wisdom, and dignity of mind: excellences that put him upon an equality with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, his look, and his very diversions, a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor anything else could move. He pursued every object he had in view with a vi-

gour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter were sure to meet with a severe repulse, and to those who attempted to intimidate him, he was still more untractable. Scarce anything could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly or easily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appease his resentment when once excited.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learned, he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longest: for every hard-gained acquisition of science is a kind of annealing upon the mind. The inflexibility of his disposition seems also to have retarded his progress in learning: for to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus young men are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than such as are well; and, in general, assent is most easily gained from those who are least able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always inquire the reason, and asked why such a thing was

* Cato the Censor, at a very late period of his life, married Salonia, the daughter of his own steward. There was a family, however, from the second match, which flourished when that which came from the first was extinct.

† Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side; there were three of them: one, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the mother's side.

enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpèdon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Papedius Silo, a man of great name as a soldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for the freedom." Cæpio smiled, and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And as he was observed to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the strangers, Papedius continued, "And you, my little man, what do you say? Will not you give your guests your interest with your uncle, as well as your brother?"—Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Papedius took him to the window, and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was going to let him fall. But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Papedius set him down, and said softly to his friends, "This child is the glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that we should not get one vote among the people."

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, most of the children went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimic a court of justice,* where some were accused in form, and after-

wards carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned, and shut up by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out to Cato; who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and pushing away those who stood there as guards, and attempted to oppose him, carried off the child, and went home in great anger; most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary instance: when Sylla chose to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy*,† and is considered as a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them two captains, one of which they readily accepted, on account of his being the son of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, and would not go out to exercise under him. Sylla then asking them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimously cried, "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship which had subsisted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother Cæpio, ar^d to talk familiarly with them: a favour, which, by reason of his dignity, he conferred on very few. Sarpèdon thinking such an intercourse a great advantage to his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay his respects to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; such were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now was in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the bystanders sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, asked his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that man?" "Because," said he, "they fear him

* Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other countries they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects, but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and in latter times, the state of emperors. Suetonius tells us, that Nero commanded his son-in-law, Reginus Crispinus, the son of Popæa, a child, to be thrown into the sea, because he was said to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind

† The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public *circus* by companies of boys, who were furnished with arms suitable to their strength. They were taken, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome.

more than they hate him." "Why then," said Cato, "do not you give me a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and saw with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting some rash action.

When he was but a child, he was asked one day, "Whom he loved most?" and he answered, "His brother." The person who put the question, then asked him, "Whom he loved next?" and again he said, "His brother." "Whom in the third place?" and still it was "His brother:" and so on till he put no more questions to him about it. This affection increased with his years, insomuch, that when he was twenty years old, if he supped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Cæpio must be with him. But he would not make use of perfumes as Cæpio did; indeed, the whole course of his life was strict and austere: so that when Cæpio was sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, when compared with other men; but when I compare myself with Cato, I seem a mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a person remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connexion with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher; and the knowledge he was the most studious of acquiring was the moral and political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulse like inspiration; but his greatest attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind, which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion.* He cultivated

also that eloquence which is fit for popular assemblies; for as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence," he answered, "No matter, so long as it does not find fault with my life. I shall begin to speak, when I have things to say that deserve to be known."

In the public hall called the *Porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to hold their court; and, as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing that drew Cato to the *rostra*, and even then it was against his inclination. However, he opposed the design effectually, and gave an admirable specimen, both of his eloquence and spirit. For there was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength was such, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bare-headed in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. His friends, who travelled with him, made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one, sometimes another, for conversation, as he went along. In time of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach him till he found a sensible change for the better.

* Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a fine satire upon those maxims of the Stoics which Cato made the rule of his life, and which, as he observes, were only fit to flourish within the portico.

At entertainments they drew the dice for the choice of the messes; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends used to offer it him; but he always refused it; "Venus,"* said he, "forbids." At first he used to rise from table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excused him by saying, "That the business of the state employed him all day, and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he spent his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And, when one Memmius said in company, "That Cato spent whole nights in drinking;" Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say that he spends whole days at play."

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to go contrary to the corrupt fashions which then obtained. He observed (for instance) that the richest and most lively purple was the thing most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner barefooted and without his gown. Not that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.

A great estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he turned it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a sum, he lent it them without interest. If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own land and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age to enter into that state, he set a treaty on foot with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by

the assiduity of his management and address, succeeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was desirous to go to law for redress, and, as his friends overruled him in that respect, youthful resentment put him upon writing some *iambics* against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus, without his obscenity and scurrility.

After this, he married Atilia, the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this respect Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he;† for in the course of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the *servile war*‡ (I mean that with Spartacus) Gellius was general; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother Cæpio, who was tribune: but he could not distinguish his vivacity and courage as he wished because the war was ill conducted. However, amidst the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and, when occasion served, behaved with so much spirit and valour as well as coolness and capacity, that he appeared not in the least inferior to Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of the best military rewards and honours; but he would not accept or allow of them; "For," said he, "I have done nothing that deserves such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law was made, that no man who solicited any office should take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by those who praised him. The more they considered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

† Plutarch seems to us to have spoken so feelingly of the happiness of the conjugal connexion long continued with one affectionate wife from his own experience.

‡ Seventy-one years before the Christian era.

* The most favourable cast upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it, ode vii. lib. 2.

With a tribune's commission he was sent to Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great distress, and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, said, "Take courage Atilia; I will take care of your husband." "By all means," answered Cato. At the end of the first day's march, after they had supped, he said, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better perform your promise to Atilia, you shall not leave me either day or night." In consequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleasant improvement upon the matter; for, as Munatius always slept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horse back, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them and conversed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this post he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished by his own virtue only; it was his ambition to make all the troops that were under his care like himself. With this view he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in the support of reason to its assistance. By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was hard to say whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more just. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a dishonourable thing, ambitious of honest praise.

Hence though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in universal esteem, and had entirely the hearts of his soldiers; for whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and marching, he resembled the private soldier more than the officer; and at the same time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and strength of eloquence, he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By these means he

insensibly gained the affections of his troops; and, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, except the person who gives the pattern is beloved as well as esteemed. Those who praise good men without loving them, only pay a respect to their name, but do not sincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus, and surnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia, and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his conversation, he drew him from his purpose, and brought him with him to the camp as happy and as proud of this success as if he had a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the east.

While he was with the army in Macedonia, he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen sick at Ænus in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel to be had. He ventured, however, to sail from Thessalonica in a small passage boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. On this occasion Cato showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and besides these and other tokens of the greatest sorrow, he spent vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burned with him were very expensive, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the forum at Ænus, which cost no less than eight talents.

Some condemned these things as little agreeable to the modesty and simplicity which Cato professed in general; but they did not perceive, that with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations of pleasure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his nature. Many cities and princes sent presents of great value, to do honour to the obsequies but he would not accept anything in money. All that he would receive was spices and stuffs, and those too only on the condition of paying for them.

He was left coheir with Cæpio's daughter, to his estate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expenses to her account. Yet, though he acted honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one* who scrupled not to write, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed his hand: instances of esteem which few generals met with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with his own eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the same time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagements of hospitality that he had entered into with his father, had given him a very pressing invitation.

His manner of travelling was this. Early in the morning he sent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. These entered the town in a very modest and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for

him, and prepared his supper at an inn, without giving any one the least trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and were always satisfied with those assigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's servants but entirely disregarded, because they came not to the magistrates in a clamorous and threatening manner; inso-much that their master arrived before they could procure lodgings. It was worse still when Cato himself made his appearance, for the townsmen seeing him sit down on the luggage without speaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and dastardly spirit. Some times, however, he would send for the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why do not you learn a proper hospitality? You will not find all that apply to you Catos. Do not then by your ill treatment give those occasion to exert their authority, who only want a pretence to take from you by violence what you give with so much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with a humorous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he saw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one side the way stood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their best attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns on their heads; these were the priests and the magistrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his servants, who were sent before, for not preventing such a compliment. Nevertheless, he desired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards these Antiochians. When they were near enough to be spoken to, the master of the ceremonies, an elderly man, with a staff and a crown in his hand, addressed himself first to Cato, and, without so much as saluting him, asked "How far Demetrius was behind; and when he might be expected." Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were seized with such a fit of laughter that they could not recover themselves as they passed through the crowd. Cato himself, in some confu-

* Julius Cæsar in his *Anticato*.

sion, cried out, "Alas poor city!" and said not a word more. Afterwards, however, he used always to laugh when he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any more mistakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato; for Cato, when he came to Ephesus, going to pay his respects to Pompey, as his superior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of such great armies; Pompey, seeing him at some distance, did not wait to receive him sitting, but rose up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He said much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was present, and spoke more freely in his praise when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato, and he was admired for what before had exposed him to contempt: for they could now see that his sedate and subdued conduct was the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence rather of respect than love; and that, though he expressed his admiration of him when present, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to see him, he pressed much to stay and spend some time with him. To Cato he gave no such invitation; but, as if he thought himself under some restraint in his proceedings while he stayed, readily dismissed him. However, amongst all the Romans that returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who, indeed, were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way strove which should do him most honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends to look well to him, lest he should make good the saying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but disapproved his austerity, asked him one day, "Whether he was inclined to visit Asia when his time of service was expired?" Cato answered, "Yes, by all means." Upon which Curio said, "It is well; you will return a little more practicable:" using an expressive Latin word to that purpose.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them; "or if you will not accept them," said Deiotarus, "at least permit your friends to take them, who deserve some reward for their services, and yet cannot expect it out of your own estate." Cato, however, would give them no such permission, though he observed that some of his friends cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corruption," said he, "will never want a pretence; but you shall be sure to share with me whatever I can get with justice and honour." He therefore sent Deiotarus his presents back.

When he was taking ship for Brundisium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel;* but he declared, "He would sooner part with his life than with them;" and so set sail. It is said, the ship he was in happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the *forum* in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age† to offer himself for the quæstorship, he would not solicit it till he had qualified himself for that office, by studying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of such as were experienced in it; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and process. Im-

* From a superstition which commonly obtained, they imagined that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word *happened* just below, shows that he did not give into that superstitious notion, though too apt to do those things.

† Twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

mediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in; and as young quæstors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under officers took upon them not only to instruct, but to dictate to them; and were, in fact, quæstors themselves. Cato corrected this abuse. He applied himself with great vigour to the business, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly understood all that belonged to that department. Consequently, he made use of the secretaries only as servants, which they really were; sometimes correcting wilful abuses, and sometimes the mistakes which they made through ignorance. As the license in which they had lived had made them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quæstors, they boldly withstood Cato. He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the division of an estate. Against another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor; a man whose authority was not only supported by his high office, but still more by his reputation; for, in justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished himself above all the Romans of his time. He was also a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he opposed him in this cause. Perceiving he had not right on his side, he had recourse to entreaties; but Cato would not suffer him to proceed in that manner; and, as he did not desist, took occasion to say, "It would be a great disgrace for you, Catulus, who are censor and inspector of our lives and manners, to be turned out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make answer; however, he did not speak: either through anger or shame, he went off silent, and greatly disconcerted. Nevertheless, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices against him exceeded those for him by one only, Catulus desired the assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by sickness from

attending the trial; but, upon this application, was brought in a litter into court, and gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By these means, in a little time he rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself; and it was commonly thought, as well as said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate; for, having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons, he settled these affairs in such a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect; strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state; and, at the same time, readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills, and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged, and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There was a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla had given twelve thousand *drachmas* for each head they brought him. These were looked upon by all the world as the most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, summoned all who had received the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund; inveighing, at the same time, with equal reason and severity, against their impious and abominable deeds. Those wretches thus disgraced, and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for

murder before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions; they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with these men, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people were also delighted with his indefatigable diligence; for he always came to the treasury before his colleagues, and was the last that left it. There was no assembly of the people, or meeting of the senate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remissions of fines and duties, and all unreasonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers and all such vermin, and filled it with treasure, he showed that it is possible for government to be rich without oppressing the subject. At first this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable; because, by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he stood the rage of disappointed avarice for them all; and, to the importunity of solicitation they would answer, that they could do nothing without the consent of Cato.

The last day of his office he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens. But, by the way, he was informed that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order for sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quæstor while he acted with him; but, when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the registers, and erased it; Marcellus all the while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treasury, and led him to his own house. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then, or afterwards, but continued the same friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quæstorship was

expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treasury. He had his servants there daily, minuting down the proceedings; and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own; a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, he was the first to give his attendance, and the last to withdraw; and oftentimes, while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit down and read, holding his gown before his book; nor would he ever be out of town when a house was called. Pompey finding that, in all his unwarrantable attempts, he must find a severe and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cause of some friend to plead, or arbitration, or other business to attend to. But Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring, that, when the senate was to sit, he would never undertake any other business; for his attention to the concerns of government was not, like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as solicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive*. For this reason he desired his friends, and others with whom he had connexions in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important decisions, and all the principal business transacted there.

He made a point of it to oppose Clodius the seditious demagogue, who was always proposing some dangerous law, or some change in the constitution, or accusing the priests and vestals to the people. Fabia Terentia, sister to Cicero's wife, and one of the vestals, was impeached among the rest, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cause of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this service, he said, "You may thank your country, whose utility is the spring that guides all my actions."

His reputation came to be so great, that a certain orator, in a cause where only one witness was produced, said

to the judges, "One man's evidence is not sufficient to go by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not believe such a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuse in his expenses, and in all respects of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Amnæus rose up and said, "Who can endure to hear a man who eats and drinks like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, pretend to talk here like Cato?" Hence others, who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called *Catos*.

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. He said, "He looked upon an office of such power and authority as a violent medicine, which ought not to be used except in cases of great necessity. As, at that time, he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants, which he found belonged to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand: he remained some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, "Know ye not," said he, "that Metellus is formidable even in his stupidity? But remember, that he now follows the counsels of Pompey; that the state lies prostrate before him; and that he will fall upon and crush it with the force of a thunderbolt. Is this then a time for the pursuit of rural amusements? Let us rescue our liberties, or die in their defence?" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneship, in opposition to Metellus: for to oppose, is the nature of that

office; and its power is chiefly negative; insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to disannul a measure in which the whole assembly beside has concurred.

Cato was at first attended only by a small number of his friends; but, when his intentions were made known, he was immediately surrounded by men of honour and virtue, the rest of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: observing, at the same time, that, though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of opposition, yet he now stepped forth, regardless, not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people that pressed around him, that it was with the utmost difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongst the rest, he observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. On this subject he gave a severe charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one that should offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus,* who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. But against Muræna, who, by means of bribery, had carried the consulship at the same time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the person accused has power to set a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of supporting a false accusation by private machinations before his trial. When the person that

* From this passage it should seem that Plutarch supposed Cato to be capable of sacrificing to family connexions. But the fault lies rather in the historian than in the tribune; for, is it to be supposed that the rigid virtue of Cato should descend to the most obnoxious circumstances of predilection? It is not possible to have a stronger instance of his integrity, than his refusing the alliance of Pompey the Great: though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with bad consequences to the state.

was appointed Muræna's officer on this occasion, observed the liberal and candid conduct of Cato, that he sought only to support his information by fair and open evidence, he was so struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his house, and, after inquiring whether he should proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then consul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleasant things against the stoics, and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small mirth amongst the judges: upon which Cato only observed with a smile, to those who stood next him, that Rome had indeed a most laughable consul. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought against him, he nevertheless consulted him on all occasions of importance during his consulship, respected him for his sense and virtue, and made use of his counsels in the administration of government. For Cato, on the bench, was the most rigid dispenser of justice; though, in private society, he was affable and humane.

Before he was appointed tribune in the consulship of Cicero, he supported the supreme magistrate in a very seasonable manner, by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state; and that, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without effecting his purpose. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest of the conspirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity, and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves at least more effectually. Their scheme was nothing less than to burn the city, and destroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero, as we have observed in his life, called a council; and the first that spoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conspirators should be punished

with the utmost rigour. This opinion was adopted by the rest till it came to Cæsar. This eloquent man, consistent with whose ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to suppress any threatening innovations, urged, in his usual persuasive manner, the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial; and that the conspirators should only be taken into custody. The senate, who were under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this measure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment a citizen of Rome could suffer.

This change of sentiments in those who spoke first was followed by the rest, who all gave in to milder measures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in changing his resolution. He attacked Cæsar, and charged him with a secret design of subverting the government, under the plausible appearance of mitigating speeches and a humane conduct; of intimidating the senate, by the same means, even in a case where he had to fear for himself, and wherein he might think himself happy if he could be exempted from every imputation and suspicion of guilt: he who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state; and shown, that so far from having any compassion for his country, when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches that meditated its ruin, and grieve that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. Cicero had selected a number of the swiftest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and man

ners of Cato, the least circumstance that may contribute to mark them should not escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected, and charged him with some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read publicly. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it, than he perceived it to be the hand of his own sister, Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar, by whom she had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate amongst the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar; and his other sister, Servilia, was in still worse repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom she also had a son, she was divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most distressful to Cato was, that the conduct of his own wife, Attilia, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Martia, the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraseas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him, gives us this account of the matter. Amongst the friends and followers of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Amongst these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family alliance with him; and for this purpose, he scrupled not to request that his daughter Portia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom she had two children, might be lent to him; as a fruitful soil for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural

or improper; for why should a woman in the flower of her age, either continue useless, till she is past child-bearing, or overburden her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the connexions of society. Moreover, if Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the greatest regard for the friendship of Hortensius, but could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not give up the point here; but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, saying, that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not possibly make this request, upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him; but said it was necessary to consult Martia's father Philip on the occasion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato. These circumstances are not related in the proper order of time; but speaking of Cato's connexion with the women, I was led to mention them.

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar, who, on account of his calumnies in the senate, was obliged to throw himself on the people, had infused a spirit of insurrection into the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, being apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free gift of corn. This cost twelve hundred and fifty talents a year, but it had the desired effect.*

* This is almost one-third more than the sum said to have been expended in the same distribution in the life of Cæsar; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expense, the policy was bad; for nothing so effectually weakens the hands of government, as this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurses do froward children.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict, that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his real design was to give up the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, expostulated with great mildness, and had even recourse to entreaty, intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever stood in the interest of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent on that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the senate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, were changed in a moment; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, "That while he was living, Pompey should never enter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of Metellus. The latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general destruction and confusion. The virtue of Cato they looked upon as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to *arm* in the cause of justice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and slaves, armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was also followed by several of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were strengthened by the praetorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was exposed was now so great, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself passed the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to

imitate his example. He supped and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly till he was waked by his colleague, Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friends, "Which," said he, "is most contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice of him who brings such an army against a man who is naked and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those that occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty drew along with him; and, as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to speak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him, by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Murræna, though the former had so lately an information against him, would not desert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed; entreated the mob to desist from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. When Metellus found the benches deserted, and the adversary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his

point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adversary, however, quickly rallied, and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus's party, supposing that, by some means, they had got arms, was thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applause, established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate, too, voted that Cato should, at all events, be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with every thing that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost rigour.

Metellus still maintained his resolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said every thing that he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this he immediately set off for Asia, to carry an account of these matters to Pompey; and Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the highest reputation; but what made him still more popular, was his prevailing on the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilst men of political sagacity could see that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in some measure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey, than any personal hatred, he was in danger of losing his triumphs. Cato, however,

partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, opposed Memmius, and by that means exposed himself to great obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had full credit enough to banish Memmius from the courts and from the lists. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome, from the magnificent reception he everywhere met with, he scrupled not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, that he might support Piso. Whilst they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not because he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against the measure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little disturbed at this; and concluding, that, if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greatest obstacle to his designs, he sent for his friend Munatius, and commissioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say that they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may; when Munatius opened his commission to Cato, in the presence of his wife and sisters, the women were not a little delighted with the splendour of the alliance. But Cato, without a moment's hesitation, answered, "Go, Munatius; go, and tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female snare. Tell him, at the same time, that I am sensible of the honour he does me; and whilst he continues to act as he ought to do, I shall have that friendship for him which is superior to affinity; but I will never give hostages, against my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to suppose, were chagrined; and even the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his answer. But Pompey soon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a consular election. "You see now," said Cato to the women, "what would

have been the consequence of my alliance with Pompey. I should have had my share in all the aspersions that are thrown upon him." And they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance with Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men went near to overturn the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, to whom the slightest faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were only impending at the period under our view. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus (for each wanted to confirm his own, as the former was evidently injured,) he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agragian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it was rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes; and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato, in some measure led the way. The thing was thus:—Cæsar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph; but as the laws of Rome required that those who sue for the supreme magistracy, should sue in person; and those who triumph should be without the walls, he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate, in general, agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only one that opposed it, found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he spoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar, therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed the laws for the

distribution of lands amongst the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus, the other consul opposed it. But Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connexion with Pompey, was strenuous against the motion; and said it was not the distribution of lands that he feared so much as the rewards which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favours.

In this not only the senate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reasonably offended by the unconstitutional conduct of Cæsar; for whatever the most violent and the maddest of the tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the consular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be overruled his party had recourse to violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts began to be thrown, and many were wounded, the rest of the senate fled as fast possible out of the *forum*. Cato was the last that left it; and as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedness and madness of the people. The Agragian law, therefore, was not only passed, but they obliged the whole senate to take an oath that they would confirm and support it; and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the measure, for they remembered the example of Metellus,* who was banished for refusing to comply, in a similar instance, with the people. Cato was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath; but what principally induced him was the remonstrances and expostulations of Cicero; who represented to him, that there might not be so much virtue as he imagined in one man's dissenting from a decree that was established by the rest of the senate; that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity; and, what was still worse, to leave the commonwealth,

for which he had undergone so many toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were weary, at last, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could not do without Cato: his friends could not do without him; himself could not dispense with his assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tribunitial authority, was forming the most dangerous machinations against him. By these, and the like remonstrances, solicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, it is said, was with difficulty prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonius excepted, he was the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania amongst the poor. Cato alone opposed it; and though Cæsar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to prison, he omitted not, nevertheless, to speak as he passed in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a stop to such proceedings. The senate, with heavy hearts, followed Cato, and all the virtuous part of the people with silent indignation. Cæsar was not inattentive to the public discontent that this proceeding occasioned; but ambitiously expecting some concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length, however, when he found these expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame to which this conduct exposed him, he instructed one of the tribunes to rescue him from his officers. The people, notwithstanding, brought into his interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years; though Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order,) a tribune of the people; because they knew he would, in every respect, accede to their wishes with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piso, the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius,* a bosom

friend of Pompey's, as we are told by those who knew him best, they created consuls.

Yet, though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, still they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it cost them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulsive measures they had recourse to did them but little honour. Clodius, too, saw that he could not distress Cicero while supported by Cato; yet this was his great object, and upon his entering upon his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato; when, after paying him the compliment of being the honestest man in Rome, he proposed to him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which he said had been solicited by many. Cato answered, that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous scheme and a disgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, "If it is not your pleasure to go, it is mine that you shall go." And saying this, he went immediately to the senate and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither supplied him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant, two secretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other client of his own. Besides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the opposition of Ptolemy were not a sufficient task for him, he ordered him likewise to restore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato as long as possible out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius whom he sent before him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in such manner, that he yielded without coming to blows; for Cato gave him to understand, that he should not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he should be appointed high priest to the Paphian Venus.† While this was neighbourhood in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was despicable in every respect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextius.

† This appointment seems to be but a

* Plutarch does not mean to represent this

gociating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's answer, and making preparations for the reduction of the island.

In the meantime Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria upon some quarrel with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his messenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken physic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to see him, he might come himself. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor did he so much as rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would do a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. However, when he entered into conversation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily reconciled to him. Cato, it seems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome; represented to him the happiness he had left, and that he was about to expose himself to toils, the plagues of attendance, and what was still worse, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt, converted into money, could not satisfy. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the same time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by his representations, as it were, from insanity to reason, admired the discretion and sincerity of Cato, and determined to follow

poor exchange for a kingdom; but when it is remembered that, in the Pagan theology, the priests of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that most of them were of royal families; when it is considered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus stood amongst the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her priest must have been, occasioned by the offerings of the prodigious concourse of people who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be thought that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little island.

his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome than he repented of his folly, and blamed himself for rejecting the virtuous counsels of Cato, as for disobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good stars would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato being determined to go himself to Byzantium, sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius; when the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attended at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought every article to the best market. Nor would he trust to the common customs of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid higher, so that every thing went off at the greatest rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius. Cæsar, too, in his oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius, however, tells us that this misunderstanding was not so much occasioned by Cato's distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thræseas has chiefly followed. He tells us, that he was amongst the last that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato; who observed, with Theophrastus, that too much love was frequently the occasion of hatred; and that he, because of the strength of his attachment to him, was angry at the

slightest inattention. He told him, at the same time, that he made use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest, having found him honest, though he had been there from the first, and had opportunities of being otherwise. This conversation which he had in private with Cato, the latter, he informs us, related to Canidius; and when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend at Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, assist at his councils. Cato threatening to punish him for disobedience, and, as is usual, to take a pledge from him;* Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome, and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her husband, he and Munatius were both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the rest of the company had taken their places, asked where he should take his place? Barca answered, where he pleased. "Then," said he, "I will take my place by Munatius." He therefore took his place next him, but he showed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterwards, however, at the request of Marcia, Cato wrote to him, that he should be glad to see him. He therefore waited on him at his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the rest of the morning visitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute, no less than more public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of manners and characters.

Cato in his expedition had acquired near seven thousand talents of silver, and being under some apprehensions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of vessels that would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas a piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a large piece of

cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the ship that contained them, these boys might mark the spot where they lay. The whole treasure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with safety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both lost; one by shipwreck with his freeman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Coreyra; for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were sufficient vouchers of his conduct against enemies and informers; for he did not intend these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy and industry to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates, the priests, the whole senate, and multitudes of the people went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet there was an ill timed haughtiness in his conduct; for, though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets, and the senate, in full assembly, bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary,† and the right of attending at the public shows in a pretexta, or purple-bordered gown; but these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was consul at that time, and his colleague respected Cato no less for his virtue than

* When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of his house, and to keep it till he should attend. This they called *pignora capere*.

† Cato was then but thirty-eight years of age, and consequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter that office till he was forty.

Philip might for his alliance, so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable, and he scrupled not, in the absence of Clodius, to pull down and destroy the tribunitial edicts which the latter had put up in the capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero, upon the accusation of Clodius, made his defence, by alleging, that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, of course, every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, "That he was indeed sensible that the whole administration of Clodius had been wicked and absurd; but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would stand for nothing, because his commission, issuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid; that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been chosen tribune contrary to law, because he had previously been enrolled in the order of plebeians by an act passed for that purpose; but that, if he had acted unjustly in his office, he was liable to personal impeachments, while at the same time the office itself retained its proper force and authority." This occasioned a quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæsar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus, and it was agreed that the two last should again stand for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops should be secured to themselves. This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth. This dangerous junction deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity from their design of offering themselves candidates for the consulship. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his sister, not to give up the point, nor to resign his pretensions; for that the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed too, that the consular power should not be suffered

to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey; but that at all events they were to be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him, at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torchlight into the *Campus Martius*. The torchbearer was killed at the first stroke, the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still kept Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of liberty while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of that power which they sought by such execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for lost, but solicited a prætorship for himself, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, apprehensive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate, and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their office,* without waiting the usual time to stand the charge, if any such charge should be brought against them, of bribery and corruption. By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, presided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet still the virtue of Cato could not totally lose its weight. There were still those who had honesty enough to be ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that it would be of service to the state to elect him, even at the public expense. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the first-called tribe; but Pompey scandalously pretending that he heard

* There was always a time allotted between nomination and possession; that if any undue means had been made use of in the canvass they might be discovered.

it thunder, broke up the assembly; for it is not common for the Romans to do any business if it thunders. Afterwards, by means of bribery, and by the exclusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinus to be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, like so many culprits, immediately ran away. To the rest that assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to address himself in a speech; in the course of which he foretold, as if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth; and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who, in the consciousness of their guilty intentions, feared the control of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war and extending dominion, the rest of the senate, thinking opposition vain, forbore to speak against the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the rostrum in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours; and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions, and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum. Yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the consul's beadle again laid hold of him, and turned him out of the forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till at last Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato was rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly overawed and partly corrupted, the consular party prevent-

ed Aquilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the forum; so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious that the people were going to pull down his statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato, addressing himself particularly to Pompey, told him, with great confidence, he did not then consider that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it nor shake him off, they would both fall together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall; and then he should find, too late, that the counsels of Cato were no less salutary for himself than intrinsically just. Yet Pompey, though he often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power, despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, even in capital cases, on some of the first personages in Rome. Some will have it, that he passed sentence when he had drank after dinner, but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongst the people in elections of every kind; and, in order to effect this, he moved that a law should be passed in the senate, for every candidate, though no information should be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates and to the more mercenary part of the people; so that as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders

of the populace; so that when he spoke upon the subject he was heard with a general silence.* The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for deserting the prætor, and declining to assist him when in manifest danger. This measure distressed the candidates considerably; for, on the one hand, they were afraid of giving bribes, and, on the other, they were apprehensive of losing their election if it should be done by their opponents. They thought it best, therefore, jointly to deposit five hundred sesteria each,† then to canvass in a fair and legal manner, and if any one should be convicted of bribery, he should forfeit his deposit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the money was to be lodged in his hand; but for this he accepted of sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune who presided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Cato, however, rendered himself obnoxious to many by this conduct, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and judicial powers. Indeed, there is hardly any authority so much exposed to envy as the latter, and

hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it; for though he who administers justice in a virtuous manner may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts, yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion; they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. However, as justice is a virtue so easily practicable and obtainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general; but Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the lists of Pompey, accused Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of raising an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained, that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse or a soldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted that he never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles. "For my own part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me as an appendage to my prætorship; but for Pompey, he arrogated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed on his friends; nay, he has now, without even soliciting your consent, accommodated Caesar in Gaul with six thousand soldiers. Such forces, armaments, and horses, are now, it seems, at the disposal of private men; and Pompey retains the title of commander and general, while he delegates to others the legions and the provinces; and continues within the walls to preside at elections, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator of sedition. From this conduct his principles are obvious

* This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage in Virgil, and at the same time the laboured dignity and weight of that verse,

—Pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem,

conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est

Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat,

Tum, pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem

Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant:

Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.

VIRG. ÆN. 1.

† Cicero speaks of this agreement in one of his epistles to Atticus.

He holds it but one step from anarchy to absolute power."* Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus† is said to have been of Socrates, who was transported with his discourses even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently lost it; but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all to be written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy he had the assistance of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given to the people. In these Cato gave another specimen of his economy; for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, such as they use in the Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners, and Favonius, who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment: but the people left him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato master of the ceremonies. It is probable, how-

ever, that he took this upon him only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable to such occasions would have better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, were candidates for the consulship, and, besides the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourse to violence, murder, and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed protector of the election. But Cato opposed this, and said that the laws should not derive their security from Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the laws.

However, when the consular power had been long suspended, and the *firum* was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him, and by that means to make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's, moved in the senate that Pompey should be created sole consul; adding, that his administration would either be of the greatest service to the state, or that, at least, if the commonwealth must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the greatest man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion, intimating, that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the greatest caresses and acknowledgments, and entreated him to assist in his administration, and to preside at his councils. Cato answered, that he had neither formerly opposed Pompey out of private enmity, nor supported him of late out of personal favour; but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would assist him with his council whenever he should be called upon; but that, in public, he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in his favour or

* This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed at absolute power, their first measure was to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

† See Plato's *Phædo*, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was surnamed *Manicus* from his passionate enthusiasm.

not; and he did not fail to do as he had told him. For soon after, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to; for that, if he should scrutinize into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish penal laws, *ex post facto*, it would be hard that those who were convicted of former offences should suffer for the breach of those laws which were then not in being. Afterwards too, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends amongst the rest, Cato, when he observed that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and yet, he gave in to the court a written encomium on Munatius Plancus,* when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he observed this, as he was one of the judges, stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithstanding. Indeed Cato gave the criminals in general no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter case it was generally understood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the same means were condemned. Nay, to object to the judgment of Cato became a common handle of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, determined himself to stand for the consulship, that

he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius,† who was one of them, had himself derived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account he was censured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended; "For what wonder," said he, "is it, that what a man esteems the greatest happiness he should not give up to another?" He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people, because it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. It was in some measure owing to this act that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much to canvass in a popular manner himself, and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was so little affected by it that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his shoes or his tunic. Cicero, sensible how much Rome wanted such a consul, at once blamed his indolence, with regard to courting the people on this occasion, and his inattention to future success; whereas he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was not owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used amongst them; whilst in an application for the consulship no such measures could be used; and he was sensible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by those manners which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or by repeating his application, to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations; and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Ro-

* Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is mistakenly called Placus, was then tribune of the people. He was accused by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimously con-

† The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was chosen for his knowledge of the laws, and the former for his eloquence.

mans, and slain three hundred thousand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar should be given up to the nations he had injured, that his conduct might not bring a curse upon the city; yet the gods," he said, ought to be thanked, notwithstanding, that the soldiers had not suffered for the madness and wickedness of their general, but that they had in mercy spared the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the senate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read, Cato rose with great calmness, and in a speech, so regular that it seemed premeditated, said, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved not to be answered; and then, laying open the whole plan of Cæsar's conduct, more like a friend who knew his bosom counsels than an enemy, he showed the senate that it was not the Britons or the Gauls they had to fear, but Cæsar himself. This alarmed them so much, that Cæsar's friends were sorry they had produced the letters that occasioned it. Nothing, however, was then resolved upon, only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar; and when Cæsar's friends required, that, in case thereof, Pompey should relinquish his army, and give up his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is coming to pass the event that I foretold.* It is obvious, that Cæsar will have recourse to arms; and

that the power which he has obtained by deceiving the people, he will make use of to enslave them." However, Cato had but little influence out of the senate, for the people were bent on aggrandizing Cæsar; and even the senate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæsar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, cast their eyes upon Cato, as on the only person who had foreseen the original designs of Cæsar. "Had ye then," said Cato, "attended to my counsels, you would neither now have feared the power of one man, nor would it have been in one man that you should have placed your hopes." Pompey answered, that "Cato had indeed been a better prophet, but that he had himself acted a more friendly part." Cato then advised the senate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey; "for the authors of great evils," he said, "knew best how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son to Munitius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and took the eldest along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendant, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow; for Hortensius was dead, and had left her his whole estate. This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion to reproach Cato with his avarice, and to call him the mercenary husband. "For why," said he, "did he part with her, if he had occasion for her himself? And, if he had not occasion for her, why did he take her again? The reason is obvious. It was the wealth of Hortensius. He lent the young man his wife, that he might make her a rich widow." But, in answer to this, one need only quote that passage of Euripides,

Call Hercules a coward!

For it would be equally absurd to reproach Cato with covetousness as it would be to charge Hercules with want.

* But was it not very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate; and Cato's observation on this occasion was not much more discreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue contributed no less to the destruction of the commonwealth than Cæsar himself. Wherefore did he idly exasperate that ambitious man, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct, which had but the shadow of virtue to support it. Nay, it is more than probable, that it was out of spite to Cæsar that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered that Cæsar had debauched Cato's sister.

of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair is another question. However, as soon as he had remarried Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said, that he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dress, as in his anguish for his country: on which side soever victory might for awhile declare, he changed not on that account his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he passed over to Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio was arrived at Messenia with a detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming; but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cause of those revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the ways of Providence! When Pompey neither acted upon the principles of wisdom nor of justice, he was invincible; but now that he would save the liberties of his country, his good fortune seems to have forsaken him. Asinius," he said, "he could easily drive out of Sicily; but as greater supplies were at hand, he was unwilling to involve the island in war." He therefore advised the Syracusans to consult their safety by joining the stronger party; and soon after set sail. When he came to Pompey, his constant sentiments were, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that if they came to blows, which party soever might be successful, the event would be decisive against the liberties of the state. He also prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city subject to the Romans should be sacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many by his humanity to the interest of Pompey.

When he went into Asia, for the purpose of raising men and ships, he took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy that she had by Lucullus; for since the death of her husband she had lived with him; and this circumstance of putting herself under the eyes of

Cato: and of following him through the severe discipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæsar did not fail to censure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Asia did not think that they had much need of Cato's assistance; yet he brought over the Rhodians to their interest; and there leaving his sister Servilia and her son, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a respectable footing, both by sea and land. It was on this occasion that Pompey discovered his final views. At first, he intended to have given Cato the supreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than five hundred men of war, beside an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occasions to rescue the commonwealth from the government of an individual; and that, if invested with so considerable a power himself, the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrhachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding were coldly received; but when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when by his impassioned action, he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the skies; and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete; but these things have been mentioned in the life of Pompey. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his

country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition, which covered the field with the bodies of citizens fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Caesar, proceeded, to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrhachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of fifteen cohorts only; for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew he would be faithful to him; but if he should be victor, he knew, at the same time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power: Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrhachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato determined in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognizance of the power of the tyrant; but if Pompey survived, he was resolved to keep his little forces together for him. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed; and would there have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul and himself only prætor. But Cicero declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pompey the younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and some others, but Cato prevented him by private expostulation; and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and the rest.

Cato, upon a supposition that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Lybia, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having first given, to such as chose it, the liberty of staying behind. As soon as he had reached the African coast, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men that had put their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He first

made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, resolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many asses to carry water; and furnished himself also with cattle and other victualling provisions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise in his train some of the people called *Psylli*,* who obviate the bad effects of the bite of serpents, by sucking out the poison; and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Even after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia,

* These people were so called from their king *Psyllus*, whose tomb was in the region of the *Syrtes*. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent; and if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates Pergamenus says, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Hellespont, called *Ophiognenes*, whose touch alone was a cure for the bite of a serpent. Celsus observes, that the *Psylli* suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have asserted that the *Psylli* have an innate quality in their constitution that is poisonous to serpents; and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himself a natural poison for serpents; and that those creatures would shun the human saliva, as they would boiling waters. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe, that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the *Psylli* were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex audacia usa confirmatâ*. However, they make a considerable trade of it; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy, and other countries, to increase their gain. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island.

he ate sitting,* intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his destination in Libya, with an army of near ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, whose wealth and power rendered him intolerably arrogant. For when he first gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Cato. But Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit on this occasion, but they have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it: but he said, "He would not transgress the laws, for the sake of which he was waging war with the man who trampled upon them; nor, when he was only *proprætor*, take the command from a *proconsul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconsul; and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being established commander-in-chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the sword, and to raze the city, as a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar. But Cato would not suffer it: he inveighed loudly in council against that design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it; and, with much difficulty, rescued that people out of the hands of

cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly at the request of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæsar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to those who were masters of it; and Cato added much to its strength, as well as convenience; for he brought into it a vast quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he armed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his eye; as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls; but, at the same time, took great care that they should suffer no injury of any kind from the Romans; and by the supply of arms, of money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be considered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given to Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, "Not to risk a battle with an able and experienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, which most effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his rashness, despised these counsels, and once even scrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice; asking, "Whether he could not be satisfied with sitting still himself within the walls and bars, unless he hindered others from taking bolder measures upon occasion." Cato wrote back, "That he was ready to cross over into Italy with the horse and foot which he had brought into Africa, and, by bringing Cæsar upon himself, to draw him from his design against Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the proposal; and it was plain that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, since he saw that Scipio would take no rational scheme for the conduct of the war; and that, if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens.—It was therefore Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That, by reason of the incapacity and rashness of the generals, he could hope no good end of the war; and that, even if victory should declare for them, and Cæsar be destroyed, for

* The consul Varro did the same after the battle of Cannæ. It was a ceremony of mourning.

nis part, he would not stay at Rome, but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who already threw out insolent menaces against many of the Romans."

The thing came to pass sooner than he expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thaspus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of such tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being probably exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the three hundred whom he made use of as a council. These were the Romans who trafficked there in merchandize and exchange of money; and to them he added all the senators, and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter with "Commending the three hundred, for the extraordinary alacrity and fidelity they had shown in serving the public cause with their purses, their persons, and their counsels; and exhorting them not to entertain different views, or to endeavour to save themselves by flight; for," continued he, "if you keep in a body, Cæsar will not hold you in such contempt, if you continue the war; and you will be more likely to be spared, if you have

recourse to submission. I desire you will consider the point thoroughly, and what resolution soever you may take, I will not blame you. If you are inclined to go with the stream of fortune, I shall impute the change to the necessity of the times. If you bear up against their threatening aspect, and continue to face danger in the cause of liberty, I will be your fellow-soldier, as well as captain, till our country has experienced the last issues of her fate: our country, which is not in Utica, or Adrymettum, but Rome; and she, in her vast resources, has often recovered herself from greater falls than this. Many resources we certainly have at present; and the principal is, that we have to contend with a man whose occasions oblige him to attend to various objects. Spain is gone over to young Pompey, and Rome, as yet unaccustomed to the yoke, is ready to spurn it from her, and to rise on any prospect of change. Nor is danger to be declined. In this you may take your enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in the most iniquitous cause; whereas, if you succeed, you will live extremely happy; if you miscarry, the uncertainties of war will be terminated with a glorious death. However, deliberate among yourselves as to the steps you should take, first entreating heaven to prosper your determinations, in a manner worthy the courage and zeal you have already shown."

This speech of Cato's inspired some with confidence, and even with hope; and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger; and looking upon him as the only general that was invincible, and superior to all fortune, "They desired him to make what use he thought proper of their fortunes and their arms; for that it was better to die under his banner than to save their lives at the expense of betraying so much virtue." One of the council observed the expedience of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many commended the motion: Cato, however, said "He would not do that, because it was neither just nor lawful; but such as their masters would voluntarily discharge, he would receive, provided they were of proper

age to bear arms." This many promised to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps, concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato's intentions; proposing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to assist him if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an answer on the same account.

Cato thought it advisable to keep the messenger till he should know the final determination of the three hundred. All of the patrician order with great readiness enfranchised and armed their slaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high interest, and whose slaves were a considerable part of their fortune, the impression which Cato's speech had made upon them did not last long. As some bodies easily receive heat, and as easily grow cold again when the fire is removed, so the sight of Cato warmed and liberalised these traders; but when they came to consider the matter among themselves, the dread of Cæsar soon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue; for thus they talked—"What are we, and what is the man whose orders we refuse to receive? Is it not Cæsar, into whose hands the whole power of the Roman empire is fallen? And surely none of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time when their fears make all men entertain sentiments beneath their dignity—shall we, in Utica, fight for the liberty of Rome, with a man against whom Cato and Pompey the Great durst not make a stand in Italy? Shall we enfranchise our slaves to oppose Cæsar, who have no more liberty ourselves than that conqueror is pleased to leave us? Ah! wretches that we are! Let us at last know ourselves, and send deputies to intercede with him for mercy." This was the language of the most moderate among the three hundred; but the greatest part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could seize upon them, they should more easily make their peace with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change but made no remonstrance against it:

he only wrote to Scipio and Juba, to keep at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the meantime a considerable body of cavalry, who had escaped out of the battle, approached Utica, and despatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution; for some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly take down the names of such as offered to set free their slaves, without pretending to use the least compulsion. Then he went out of the town, taking the senators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba rather than Cato, for their general, but to join and mutually contribute to each other's safety, by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate and gave into the utmost expressions of grief; but Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Nor was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they had no desire to be in the pay of Juba; nor did they fear Cæsar while they should have Cato for their general; but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would change with the wind, was a circumstance which they could not bear to think of; for," said they, "if they are quiet now, yet when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us and conspire our destruction. Whoever

therefore, desires us to range under his banners there, must first expel the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then call us into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage; however, he mildly answered, "That he would talk with the three hundred about them." Then entering the city again, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, dissembled or palliated their designs. They openly expressed their resentment, that any citizens should presume to lead them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the senators ought to be detained in the town till Cæsar came." Cato let this pass as if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take some desperate step with respect to the senators, and he therefore went in pursuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got under march, he rode after them. It was with pleasure they saw him approach; and they exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with theirs. On this occasion, it is said, that Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay, at least, that day, to secure the retreat of the senators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and speak to them; but the senators would not suffer him to go. They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to

his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares, and conflicts, for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own; for his intentions in that respect were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having satisfied the senators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred, "They thanked him for the favour, and entreated him to trust them and make use of their services; but as they were not Catos, nor had Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped he would pity their weakness. They told him they had resolved to send deputies to Cæsar, to intercede first and principally for Cato. If that request should not be granted, they would have no obligation to him for any favour to themselves; but as long as they had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgments for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "For me," said he, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn supplicants, and for those who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered through life, and superior in the thing I wished to be; for in justice and honour I am Cæsar's superior. Cæsar is the vanquished, the fallen man, being now clearly convicted of those designs against his country which he had long denied."

After he had thus spoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed, that Cæsar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" said he, "it seems he takes us for men." He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewise shut all the gates, except that which leads to the sea; appointed ships for those who were to depart; provided for good order in the town; redressed grievances; composed disturbances, and furnished all who wanted with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time Marcus Octavius* approached the place with two legions, and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the

* The same who commanded Pompey's fleet.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

business of the command. Cato gave the messenger no answer, but turning to his friends, said, "Need we wonder that our cause has not prospered, when we retain our ambition on the very brink of ruin?"

In the meantime, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as a lawful prize, he hastened up to them, and snatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremost; upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in silence, dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, desiring them not exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in concert with them, and consult each other's safety. After which he returned to the seaside to look upon the embarkation; and such of his friends and acquaintances as he could persuade to go, he embraced and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was not willing to go with the rest; and he thought it was not right to insist on his leaving a father he was so fond of. There was one Statyllius,* a young man, who affected a firmness of resolution above his years, and in all respects, studied to appear like Cato, superior to passion. As this young man's enmity to Cæsar was well known, Cato desired him by all means to take ship with the rest; and, when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the stoic, and Demetrius the Peripatetic, and said, "It is your business to reduce this man's extravagance of mind, and to make him see what is for his good." He now dismissed all except such as had business of importance with him; and upon these he spent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, desired Cato to assist him in composing a suitable speech, "And for you," said he, "I shall think it an honour to become the most humble suppliant, and even throw myself at his feet." Cato, however,

* This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy, to inquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

would not suffer it: "If I chose to be indebted," said he, "to Cæsar for my life, I ought to go in person, and without any mediator; but I will not have any obligation to a tyrant in a business by which he subverts the laws: and he does subvert the laws, by saving, as a master, those over whom he has no right of authority: nevertheless, we will consider, if you please, how to make your application most effectual in behalf of the three hundred."

After he had spent some time with Lucius Cæsar upon this affair, he recommended his son and friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave and retired to his own house. His son and the rest of his friends being assembled there, he discoursed with them a considerable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no share in the administration, "For the state of affairs," said he, "is such, that it is impossible for you to fill any office in a manner worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwise would be unworthy of yourself."

In the evening he went to the bath; where, bethinking himself of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides and said, "Have you taken down the pride of that young man? and is he gone without bidding us farewell?" "No indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken a great deal of pains with him; but he continues as lofty and resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and certainly follow your conduct." Cato then smiled, and said, "That will soon be seen."

After bathing, he went to supper, with a large company, at which he sat, as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for (as we observed above) he never now lay down except to sleep: all his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning; and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the paradoxes of the stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "That the good man only is free, and all bad men are slaves."

† This was not the sentiment of the stoics only, but of Socrates.

CATO THE YOUNGER.

The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived, he had determined to put an end to his being, to extricate himself from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his discourse, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests, and to remove their suspicions, by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who were upon their voyage; and for those who had to make their way through dry deserts, and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his usual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting, recalled all their suspicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the soul; but before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang: for his son had taken it away while he was at supper. He, therefore, called his servant, and asked him, who had taken away his sword? As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and, after awhile, without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book: but then he called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raising his voice still higher, he cried "I am betrayed and delivered naked to my enemy by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties; but Cato rose up,

and with a stern and awful look, thus expressed himself: "When and where did I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers to dissuade me from any purpose I may seem to be wrong in, but I must be hindered from pursuing my resolutions, thus disarmed? And you, young man, why do not you bind your father; bind his hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes he may find me utterly incapable of resistance? As to a sword, I have no need of it to despatch myself; for if I do but hold my breath awhile, or dash my head against the wall, it will answer the purpose as well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers, he addressed himself in a milder tone.—"Are you also determined to make a man of my age live whether he will or no? And do you sit here in silence to watch me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, it is no dishonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you begin a lecture to inform me better, that, dismissing the opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through Cæsar's means, grow wiser, and so have a still greater obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing with respect to myself, but I ought to have it in my power to put my purpose in execution, when I have formed it; and, indeed, I shall, in some measure, consult with you, for I shall proceed in my deliberations upon the principles of your philosophy. Be satisfied then, and go * my son, if persuasion will not do, not to have recourse to constraint."

They made no answer, but went out, the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy; he drew and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," said he, "I am master of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and, it is said, he perused the whole twice; after which, he slept so sound that he was heard by those who were in waiting

* Yet this very dialogue condemns suicide in the strongest terms.

without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent to the port to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and bring him word.

In the mean time he ordered his physician to dress his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for now they thought he had dropped his design against his life. Soon after this Butas returned, and informed him that they were all got off except Crassus, who had been detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard, and the sea was tempestuous. Cato, at this news, sighed in pity at his friends at sea, and sent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back and should be in want of anything, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing, and Cato fell again into a little slumber. Butas, at his return, told him, all was quiet in the harbour; upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. However, he could not strike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not presently expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

The noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out; at the same time he was alive and looked upon them. They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to sew up the wound. But as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his own bowels, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could be informed of this sad event, the three hundred were at the

door; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, and with one voice, calling him "their benefactor, their saviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though, at the same time, they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a splendid procession, buried it near the sea; where now stands his statue with a sword in the right hand.

This great business over, they began to take measures for saving themselves and their city. Cæsar had been informed by persons who went to surrender themselves that Cato remained in Utica, without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the escape of others, indeed, but that himself, with his friends and his son, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances he could form no probable conjecture. However, as it was a great point with him to get him into his hands, he advanced to the place with his army with all possible expedition. And when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this short sentence, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou couldst envy me the glory of saving thy life." Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæsar, he would not so much have tarnished his own honour as have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined to the merciful side.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His son suffered nothing from Cæsar; but, it is said, he was rather immoral, and that he was censured for his conduct with respect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and as he staid there a longer time than decency could warrant, such jokes as these were passed upon him:—"Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth day of the month."—"Porcius and Marphadates are two friends who have but one *soul*;" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Psyche*, which signifies *soul*.—"Cato is a great and generous man, and has a

royal soul." Nevertheless, he wiped off all aspersions by his death; for, fighting at Philippi against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead of slipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their strength with Cato; he animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adversaries a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father either in prudence

or in fortitude; for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she was trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, and put a period to her life, in a manner worthy of her birth and of her virtue as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have despatched himself soon after him, but was prevented by the philosophers. He approved himself afterwards to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.



AGIS.

It is not without appearance of probability that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks.

—These are our subjects, yet we serve them,
And listen to their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those great statesmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves, to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; so they who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called governor, indeed, but, in fact, are no more than slaves to the people.

The complete, the honest statesman has no farther regard to the public opinion than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himself upon his great and good actions,

and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophrastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterwards increase in proportion as the love of glory increases. But an immoderate passion for fame, in all affairs, is dangerous, and in political matters destructive: for, joined to great authority, this passion drives all that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be also good and honest. Therefore, as Phocion said to Antipater, when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have Phocion for your friend and flatterer too;" this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude, "You cannot have the same man both for your governor and your slave:" for that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the serpent. "The tail, it seems, one day, quarrelled with the head, and, instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itself in a terrible manner; and the head, which was thus obliged, against nature, to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise in its turn." We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the

capricious multitude, they produce such disorders as they can neither redress nor restrain.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us by considering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined, not so much by an immoderate love of glory as by a fear of disgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behind-hand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary by the most acceptable services, they always studied to outdo the honours paid them, and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent that it forced them into a situation wherein it was in vain to say, "since we are wrong, it would be a shame to persist." In the course of the history these observations occur.

With those two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge the privileges of the people, and by restoring the just and glorious institutions which had long fallen into disuse, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans were not, indeed, brothers; but their actions were of the same kindred and complexion; the source of which was this:

When the love of money made its way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanness in its train on the one hand, on the other, profusion, effeminacy, luxury; that state soon deviated from its original virtue, and sunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the son of Eudamidas, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his expedition into Asia, and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandanum in Italy.* Agis was the eldest son of

* We know of no such place as *Mandanum*.

Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother, Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus, his son, and that prince by another Eudamidas, his son likewise, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was another branch of the family of the Agiadae, the eighth in descent from that Pausanias who conquered Mardonius at Plataea. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he by another Pausanias, who being banished to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He, dying without issue was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue, and Cleomenes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left surviving another son Cleonymus, who, however, did not succeed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus the son of Acrotatus, and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child proved to be a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus took the guardianship of him; and his charge dying in his minority the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people; for, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the rest for his deviation from the customs of his ancestors. He had long been conversant in the courts of the Asiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus, and he had the indiscretion to introduce the pomp of those courts into a Grecian state, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almost all the kings who reigned before him since the great Agesilaus, in goodness of disposition and dignity of mind, for, though brought up in the greatest affluence and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Agesistrata and his

nium. Probably we should read *Mandanum*, which is a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers. CELLARIUS, p. 902.

grandmother Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Lacedæmonia, yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war against pleasure; and, to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his person might have suggested, he discarded all unnecessary ornament and expense, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloak. In his diet, his bathing, and in all his exercises, he kept close to the Spartan simplicity, and he often used to say that the crown was no farther an object of desire to him than as it might enable him to restore the laws and ancient discipline of his country.

The first symptoms of corruption and distemper in their commonwealth appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and silver into Lacedæmon. Nevertheless, the Agrarian law established by Lycurgus still subsisting, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, order and equality in some measure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill natured, being appointed one of the *Ephori*, and having a quarrel with his son procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate* their estates in their lifetime, or to leave them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment, that this man proposed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the best institution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and exercises, being obliged to drudge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and consequently looking with envy and hatred on the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of

the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was filled with an insignificant rabble without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants. For this purpose he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation: they adopted the cause of virtue with him, and, for the sake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive slave, when brought back, is of that of his master. They inveighed, therefore, against Agis for lamenting the present state of things, and desiring to restore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lysander the son of Libys, Mandroclidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus not only came into his glorious designs, but co-operated with them.

Lysander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas, and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but at the same time effeminate and avaricious. However, he was animated to this enterprise by his son Hippomedon, who had distinguished himself in many wars, and was respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his person. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really persuaded Agesilaus to embark in the design was the greatness of his debts, which he hoped would be cleared off by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his assistance, to bring his own mother into the scheme.—She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connexions, her wealth, and

* It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws empowering the nobility to alienate their estates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in those times were no better than so many petty tyrants.

the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. Upon the first intimation of the thing, she was quite astonished at it, and dissuaded the young man as much as possible from measures which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary. But Agesilaus showed her that they might easily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greatest utility to the state. The young prince, too, entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition. "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The domestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servants of the stewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus were richer than all the Spartan kings put together; but if by sobriety, by simplicity of provision for the body, and by greatness of mind, I can do something which shall far exceed all their pomp and luxury, I mean the making an equal partition of property among all the citizens, I shall really become a great king, and have all the honour that such actions demand."

This address changed the opinion of the women.—They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inspiration, and, in their turn, hastened Agis to put his scheme in execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the same to the other matrons: for they knew that the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public business than the men are with the domestic. This, indeed, was the principal obstruction to Agis's enterprise. Great part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women: consequently they opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness; but because they saw they must also lose that honour and power which follow property.—They, therefore, applied to Leonidas the other king, and desired him, as the older man to put a stop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people who were desirous of the change, he did not oppose it openly. Privately, however, he strove to blast the design by applying to the magistrates, and individually representing, "That Agis offered the poor a share in the estates of the rich, as the price of absolute power; and that the distribution of lands, and cancelling of debts, was only a means to purchase guards for himself, not citizens for Sparta."

Agis, however, having interest to get Lysander elected one of the *ephori*, took the opportunity to propose his *rheta* to the senate; according to which "Debtors were to be released from their obligations; and lands to be divided in the following manner:—those that lay between the valley of Pelene and Mount Taygetus, as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed in four thousand five hundred equal lots; fifteen thousand lots were to be made of the remaining territory, which should be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants who were able to bear arms: as to what lay within the limits first mentioned, Spartans were to have the preference: but if their number fell short, it should be made up out of strangers who were unexceptionable in point of person, condition, and education. These were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two hundred, who were to eat together, and keep to the diet and discipline enjoined by the laws of Lycurgus."

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; and he, with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus, in their discourse to the citizens, entreated them not to suffer the few to insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot. They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphæ, which gave them the same warning.—For Pasiphæ had a temple and oracle at Thalamæ.*

* Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. *Crc. de Div. l. 1.*

Some say this Pasiphæ was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra,* the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Pasiphæ*, from her answering the questions of all that consulted her.—But Phylarcus says, she was no other than Daphne, the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the solicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly and, after a short speech, declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution he recommended. He would first give up to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land, and of six hundred talents in money:—then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced, that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered that he should be obliged to do the same with his colleague, without finding the same acknowledgments from the people; that all would be equally under a necessity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who first set the example would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he thought Lycurgus a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on—"But did Lycurgus ever

order just debts to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom of Sparta upon strangers? Did he not rather think his commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, except strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He did not wonder that Leonidas, who was educated in a foreign country, and had children by an intermarriage with a Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycurgus, in banishing money, banished both debts and usury from Lacedæmon. As for strangers, he excluded only those who were not likely to conform to his institutions or fit to class with his people. For he did not dislike them merely as strangers; his exceptions, were to their manners and customs, and he was afraid that, by mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with their luxury, effeminacy, and avarice. Terpander, Thales, and Phercydes, were strangers, yet because their poverty and philosophy moved in concert with the maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in great honour at Sparta. Even you commended Ecprepes, who, when he was one of the *ephoroi*, retrenched the two strings which Phrynis the musician had added to the seven of the harp; you commend those who did the same by Timotheus;† and yet you complain of our intention to banish superfluity, pride, and luxury, from Sparta. Do you think that in retrenching the swelling and supernumerary graces of music they had no farther view, and that they were not afraid the excess and disorder would reach the lives and manners of the people, and destroy the harmony of the state?"

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to give up their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws should be proposed to the people, that they carried it against the *rhetra* by a majority of one. Lysander, however, being yet in office, resolved to prosecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every descendant of Hercules

* Pausanias would incline one to think that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamie," says he, "is the temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to sleep in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to them in a dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of brass, one of *Paphia*, [it ought to be *Pasiphæ*] the other of the sun. That which is in the temple is so covered with garlands and fillets that it is not to be seen; but it is said to be of brass."

† Timotheus the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, for which he was severely punished by the sage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would effeminate the people

to have children by a woman that is a stranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. He instructed others to allege these things against Leonidas, while he with his colleagues, watched for a sign from heaven. It was the custom for the *ephori* every ninth year, on a clear starlight night, when there was no moon, to sit down, and in silence observe the heavens. If a star happened to shoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of some crime against the gods, and suspended them till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander, affirming that the sign had appeared to him, summoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witnesses to prove that he had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal aversion to him, he returned home against his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this suit, he persuaded Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the *Chalcæcus*,* as a suppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the intercession. He was resummoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was deposed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *ephori* of the ensuing year listened to the supplication of Leonidas, and consented to restore him. They likewise began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands, which those magistrates agreed to contrary to law. In this danger they persuaded the two kings to unite their interest, and to despise the machinations of the *ephori*. "These magistrates," said they, "have no power but what they derive from some difference between the kings. In such a case they have a right to support with their suffrage the prince whose measures are salutary, against the other who consults not the public

good; but when the kings are unanimous, nothing can overrule their determinations. To resist them is then to fight against the laws; for, as we said, they can only decide between the kings in case of disagreement; when their sentiments are the same, the *ephori* have no right to interpose."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of assembly with their friends, where they removed the *ephori* from their seats, and placed others in their room. Agesilaus was one of these new magistrates. They then armed a great number of the youth, and released many out of prison; upon which their adversaries were struck with terror, expecting that many lives would be lost; however, they put not one man to the sword: on the contrary, Agis understanding that Agesilaus designed to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted assassins for that purpose on the way, generously sent a party of men whom he could depend upon, to escort him, and they conducted him safe to Tegea.

Thus the business went on with all the success they could desire, and they had no farther opposition to encounter.

But this excellent regulation, so worthy of Lacedæmon, miscarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile disease of avarice in Agesilaus. He was possessed of a large and fine estate in land, but at the same time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he represented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the same time, it would probably raise great commotions in Sparta; but if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands. Agesilaus drew Lysander too into the same snare. An order, therefore, was issued for bringing in all bonds (the Lacedæmonians call them *claria*,) and they were piled together in the market-place and burned. When the fire began to burn, the usurers and other creditors walked off in great distress; but Agesilaus, in a scoffing way, said, "He never saw a brighter or more glorious flame."

The common people demanded that the distribution of lands should also be

* Minerva had a temple at Sparta, entirely of brass.

made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Agesilaus found out some pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for succours; for they expected that the Ætolians would take the route through the territory of Megara, and enter Peloponnesus. Aratus, general of the Achæans, assembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *ephor*i for assistance.

They immediately sent Agis upon that service; and that prince went out with the highest hopes; on account of the spirit of his men and their attachment to his person. They were most of them young men in very indifferent circumstances, who being now released from their debts, and expecting a division of lands if they returned from the war, strove to recommend themselves as much as possible to Agis. It was a most agreeable spectacle to the cities, to see them march through Peloponnesus without committing the least violence, and with such discipline that they were scarce heard as they passed. The Greeks said one to another, "With what excellent order and decency must the armies under Agesilaus, Lysander, or Agesilaus of old, have moved, when we find such exact obedience, such reverence in these Spartans to a general, who is, perhaps, the youngest man in the whole army!" Indeed, this young prince's simplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no show either in his dress or arms above a private soldier, made all the common people, as he passed, look upon him with pleasure and admiration; but his new regulations at Lacedæmon displeased the rich, and they were afraid that he might raise commotions everywhere among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he showed a proper courage and spirit without any enthusiastic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they should give battle, and not suffer the war to enter the gates of Peloponnesus. He would do, however, what Aratus thought most expedient, because he was the older man, and general of the

Achæans, whom he came not to dictate to, but to assist in the war."

It must be acknowledged that Bato* of Sinope relates it in another manner. He says, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himself upon this point. That general tells us, "That as the husbandmen had almost finished their harvest, he thought it better to let the enemy pass than to hazard by a battle the loss of the whole country." Therefore, when Aratus determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments on their readiness to serve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where, by this time, internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the *ephor*i, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not come, and insisting on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from those he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the senate house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them, and the respect he paid the other he would have understood to be, rather on account of his being his kinsman, than his wearing the crown. Besides, he propagated a report that he should be one of the *ephor*i the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people saw it with pleasure; for they were angry at finding themselves deceived with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus had hardly escaped their fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

* He wrote the history of Persia.

The kings both took sanctuary, Agis in *Chalcivæus*, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter that Leonidas was most incensed; and therefore passing Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize Cleombrotus, whom he reproached, in terms of resentment, with conspiring against him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and banishing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done to her father as done to herself: when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him to console her father in his misfortune. While he was in sanctuary she stayed with him, and when he retired she attended him in his flight, sympathizing with his sorrow, and full of resentment against Cleombrotus. But when the fortunes of her father changed, she changed too. She joined her husband as a suppliant, and was found sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were much struck at the sight, and they could not refrain from tears when they considered her goodness of heart and such superior instances of affection.

Chelonis, then pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled hair, thus addressed Leonidas. "It was not, my dear father, compassion for Cleombrotus which put me in this habit, and gave me this look of misery. My sorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your banishment, and have ever since remained my familiar companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, and are again king of Sparta, should I still retain these ensigns of affliction, or assume festival and royal ornaments, while the husband of my youth, whom you gave me, falls a victim to your vengeance. If his own submission, if the tears of his wife and children, cannot propitiate you, he must suffer a severer punishment for his offences than you require—he must see his beloved wife die before him; for how can I live and support the sight of my own sex, after both my husband and my father have refused to hearken to my supplication—when it appears

that, both as a wife and a daughter, I am born to be miserable with my family? If this poor man had any plausible reasons for what he did, I obviated them all by forsaking him to follow you. But you furnish him with a sufficient apology for his misbehaviour, by showing that a crown is so great and desirable an object that a son-in-law must be slain and a daughter utterly disregarded where that is in the question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek on her husband's head, and with an eye dim and languid with sorrow looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment. So that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile with such a woman, a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *ephoroi* removed, and others put in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first, he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government; "For the people," he said, "thought he might well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of honour; and the rather, because they, as well as he, had been deceived by the craft of Arcesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and, after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this

account he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day, on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and as they conducted him on his way, conversed with much freedom and gaiety, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant; but when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arrested him. "I take you, Agis," said he, "into custody, in order to your giving account to the *ephori* of your administration." At the same time, Demochares, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloak about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on behind, and no one coming to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came with a strong band of mercenaries, to secure the prison without; and the *ephori* entered it, with such senators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial process, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep for his presumption." Another of the *ephori* seeming inclined to put him in a way of excusing himself and getting off, asked him, "Whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him into the measures he took?" But Agis answered, "I was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire to imitate him, which made me adopt his form of government." Then the same magistrate demanded, "Whether he repented of what he had done?" and his answer was, "I shall never repent of so glorious a design, though I see death before my eyes." Upon this they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a small apartment in the prison where they strangle malefactors, but the officers durst not touch him, and the very

mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious to lay violent hands on a king. Demochares seeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time he laid hold of Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great concourse of people at the prison gates with lanterns and torches. Among the numbers who represented these proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly. But this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution; for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears; upon which, he said, "My friend, dry up your tears: for, as I suffer innocently, I am in a better condition than those who condemn me contrary to law and justice." So saying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground, and told her, "No farther violence should be offered her son, nor should he now have any hard treatment." He told her, too, she might go in and see her son, if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares assured her, there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and had lived in great honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death, he ordered Agesistrata to walk in: she did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son and kissing him, she said, "My son, thy too great moderation, lenity, and humanity, have ruined both thee and us." Amphares, who

from the door saw and heard all that passed, went up in great fury to Agesistrata, and said, "If you approve of your son's actions, you shall also have his reward." She rose up to meet her mate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses carried out, the terror the sad scene inspired was not so great but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares; for they were persuaded that there had not been such a train of villanous and impious actions at Sparta, since the Dorians first inhabited Peloponnesus. The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such veneration even by their enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them when they had an opportunity for it in battle.

Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedæmonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra a little before the time of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who, as the Messenians affirm, was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedæmonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That, indeed, is a matter of some dispute; but it is certain that Agis was the first king of Lacedæmon put to death by the *ephori*: and that he suffered only for engaging in an enterprise that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends had more reason to complain of him than his enemies, for saving Leonidas, and trusting his associates in the undesigning generosity and goodness of his heart.



CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity, but his father was not willing that any other man should have the lady; for she was daughter to Gylippus, and heiress to his great estate; and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, superior to all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when she was married to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first, and his attachment to his wife made him sympathize with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with great attention to her account of his sentiments and designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had, moreover, disposed him to temperance and simplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit

had an ardour in it: and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it most glorious to reign over a willing people: but at the same time he thought it not inglorious to subdue their reluctances, and bring them against their inclinations into what was good and salutary.

He was not satisfied with the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta. He saw that ease and pleasure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by self-interest, paid no attention to the business of the state, any farther than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises and strict temperance, to persevering fortitude, and universal equality, since the proposing of these things cost Agis his life.

It is said too, that Cleomenes was instructed in philosophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphærus the Borythenite,* who came to Lacedæmon,

* This Sphærus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and

and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphærus was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citiean;* and it seems that he admired the strength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and added fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed, that when Leonidas of old was asked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus?" he said, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of our youth; for the enthusiasm with which it inspires them makes them fear no danger in battle." So the stoic philosophy† may put persons of great and fiery spirits upon enterprises that are too desperate; but, in those of a grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and utterly neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, or ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He therefore, soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called *inspiration*. Him he first sounded; inquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was; by what steps, and with what associates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of the proceedings, but when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in

the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding, but only said, "Cleomenes knew very well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others might be as little disposed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himself. In the persuasion that he could more easily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint: for Aratus, who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government during the many years that he held the reins in Achaia. And indeed, he was of opinion, that this was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against its enemies without. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans; by this means designing to try how the Lacedæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as a young man without experience.

The *ephori*, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum‡ near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the persons who had promised to betray those places to him, found their hearts fail them when they came to the point; and he retired, undiscovered as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, desiring to know "Whether he marched the night before?" Aratus answered, "That understanding

flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Laertius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was the scholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthus.

* He was so called to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

† From its tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

‡ A temple of Minerva.

his design to fortify Belbina, the intent of his last motion was to prevent that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I am satisfied with the account of your march; but should be glad to know where those torches and ladders were marching?"

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and he asked what kind of man this young prince was. Democritus, a Lacedæmonian exile, answered, "If you design to do anything against the Spartans, you must do it quickly, before the spurs of this cockerel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But finding that, in consequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyæ, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Whereupon the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle; but Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted of not more than five thousand men. Cleomenes, elevated with his success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said, "The Lacedæmonians seldom inquired the number of their enemies, but the place where they could be found."

After this, he went to the assistance of the Eleans, against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lyceum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended him in his flight, marched im-

mediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise, took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly dispirited at this loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He, therefore, bethought himself of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Messene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged; for he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be so formidable, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the scale. The party that had put Agis to death, perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established on the throne, took this method to prevent it. They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and ever assisted him in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to say. The greatest part of the blame, however, fell upon those friends, who, if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teased him into it.

By this time he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and therefore he bribed the *ephori* to permit him to renew the war. He gained also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said, that, though disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake she accepted a man who had great interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was, the going to seize Leuctra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans hastened to its relief, under the command of Aratus, and a battle was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian army was beaten; but Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysidas,* the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to pursue

* In the text it is *Lydiadas*. But Polybius calls him *Lysidas*; and so does Plutarch in another place.

the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other enclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great disorder. Cleomenes, seeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lysidas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians, thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, a truce was granted the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysidas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head; and, in this attire, he sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lysidas who restored liberty to the city in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megistonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal division of property to be made; by means of which equality, Sparta would resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a surprising dream, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphæ. He thought, that, in the court where the *ephori* used to sit for the despatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary, which said, "This is best for Sparta." The magistrate related this vision of his to Cleomenes, who at first was greatly disconcerted, thinking that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Al-sæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan

league, and took them. After this, he laid in store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the Lacedæmonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way he communicated his design to such of them as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Euryclidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians*. These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords. They were all slain but Agesilaus, and he was then thought to have shared the same fate; for he was the first man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally shut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were despatched outright; and so were above ten more who came to their assistance. Those who remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared, when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but also to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the passions. Nor do they pay homage to *Fear*, as one of the noxious and destroying demons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the *ephori* (as Aristotle tells us), when they entered upon their office, caused proclamation to be made, that the people should shave the upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, in my

opinion, all the design of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And it seems to me, that the ancients did not think that valour consists in the exemption from fear; but on the contrary, in the fear or reproach, and the dread of infamy for those who stand most in fear of the law, act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they who are most tender of their reputation, look with the least concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets said well,

Ingenuous shame resides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priamus,

Before thy presence, father, I appear,
With conscious shame and reverential fear.

POPE.

And, in another place, he says, the Grecian troops

With fear and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And, therefore, the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of FEAR near the hall where the *ephori* used to eat, to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and he removed all the seats of the *ephori* except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes and despatch other business. Then he assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His speech was to this effect. "The administration was put by Lycurgus in the hands of the kings and the senate; and Sparta was governed by them a long time, without any occasion for other magistrates. But, as the Messenian war was drawn out to a great length, and the kings, having the armies to command, had not leisure to attend to the decision of causes at home, they pitched upon some of their friends to be left as their deputies, for that purpose, under the title of *ephori*, or *inspectors*. At first they behaved as substitutes and servants to the kings; but, by little and little, they got the power into their own hands, and insensibly erected their office into an inde-

pendent magistracy.* A proof of this is a custom which has obtained till this time, that when the *ephori* sent for the king, he refused to hearken to the first and second message, and did not attend them till they sent a third. Asteropeus was the first of the *ephori* who raised their office to that height of authority many ages after their creation. While they kept within the bounds of moderation, it was better to endure than to remove them; but when, by their usurpations, they destroyed the ancient form of government, when they deposed some kings, put others to death without any form of trial, and threatened those princes who desire to see the divine constitution of their country in its original lustre, they became absolutely insupportable. Had it been possible, without the shedding of blood, to have exterminated those pests which they had introduced into Lacedæmon, such as luxury, superfluous expense, debts, usury, and those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, I should then have thought myself the happiest of kings. In curing the distempers of my country, I should have been considered as the physician whose lenient hand heals without giving pain. But for what necessity has obliged me to do I have the authority of Lycurgus, who, though neither king nor magistrate, but only a private man, took upon him to act as a king,† and appeared publicly in arms. The consequence of which was, that Charilaus, the reigning prince, in great consternation, fled to the altar. But being a mild and patriotic king, he soon entered into the designs of Lycurgus, and accepted his new form of government. Therefore, the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence that it is next to impossible to new-model a constitution without the terror of an armed force. For my own part, I have applied that remedy with great moderation; only ridding myself of such as opposed the true interest of Lacedæ-

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it necessary to curb it by the institution of the *ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes says; they were, in their first establishment, ministers to the kings.

† Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority; and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himself.

CLEOMENES.

mon. Among the rest, I shall make a distribution of all the lands, and clear the people of their debts. Among the strangers, I shall select some of the best and ablest, that they may be admitted citizens of Sparta, and protect her with their arms; and that we may no longer see Laconia a prey to the Ætolians and Illyrians for want of a sufficient number of inhabitants concerned for its defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His father-in-law, Megistonus, and his other friends, followed his example. The rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they should all be recalled when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not by a ring as before. Then he applied himself to the education of the youth, and to them with all the strictness of the Lacedæmonian discipline; in the course of which he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into that good order which they had been of old; some being reduced to it by compulsion, but the greatest part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclydas his partner to the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings of the same family.

He observed that the Achæans, and Aratus, the principal man among them, were persuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unsettled state, and that he would not quit the city while it was in such a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility to show the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In consequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he spread

desolation, and made a very considerable booty. In one of his last marches he seized a company of comedians who were on the road from Messene; upon which, he built a stage in the enemy's country; proposed a prize of forty *minæ* to the best performer, and spent one day in seeing them. Not that he set any great value on such diversions, but he did it by way of insult upon the enemy, to show his superiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, singers, and dancers, of both sexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public shows or feasts, except on the late occasion, were ever seen in his camp. The young men passed the greatest part of their time in the exercises, and the old men in teaching them. The hours of leisure were amused with cheerful discourse, which had all the smartness of laconic repartee. This kind of amusement had those advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himself was the best teacher. Plain and simple in his equipage and diet, assuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he set a glorious example of sobriety. This was no small advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addressed themselves to other kings, they did not so much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and spirit of ostentation, their difficulty of access, and harshness of behaviour to all who had business at their courts. But when they applied to Cleomenes, who not only bore that title, but had all the great qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no gauntlet of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts; and they declared he was the only worthy descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short and truly Laconic. There were only couches

for three people; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious dessert was added, only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous; for he blamed one of his friends for setting nothing before strangers but the coarse cake and black broth which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to entertain," he said, "we need not be such very exact Lacedæmonians." After supper, a three-legged stand was brought in, upon which were placed a brass bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a pint and a half a-piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music or other extrinsic amusement; nor was any such thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation, sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness, and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic; but to engage six people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he thought this the true difference between a hireling and a friend: that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achæan garrison, put themselves under his protection. He re-established their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. From thence he fetched a compass through Arcadia, and then marched down to Pheræ in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for giving up the country, as it were, to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeæ,* near Hecatombœum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a rash step for him to take post between Dymeæ, which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achæans, and indeed, forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year, refused the command, though they pressed him strongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The first demands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies moderate enough; afterwards he insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he should not differ with them, for he would restore them both the prisoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification on these conditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general assembly of their state was to be held. But Cleomenes, hastening his march too much, heated himself, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the consequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and lost the use of his speech. He therefore sent the Achæans the most respectable of the prisoners, and putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, she might have recovered out of her present distress, and have maintained herself against the insolence and rapaciousness of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared or distrusted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected success. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly sprung up should rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in

possession of for three and thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing so long under his auspices. For this reason, he first tried what his interest and powers of persuasion would do to keep the Achæans from closing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him, by their admiration of the great spirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreasonable, who only desired to bring Peloponnesus back to its ancient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly dishonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct, both in the cabinet and the field; he called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponnesus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and rescued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and was equally hated by them. Antigonus, in particular, he loaded with a thousand reproaches, as appears from the writings he has left behind him.* He boasts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garrison; and yet he brought those very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own house, and even into the women's apartment. At the same time he could not bear that a Spartan king, a descendant of Hercules, who wanted only to restore the ancient polity of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the sober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it;† he could not bear that such a prince should be declared general of the Sicyonians and Tricæans.‡ While he avoided the coarse cake and short cloak, and, what he thought the greatest grievance in the whole system of Cleomenes, the abolishing of riches and the making poverty a more supportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and

purple of Macedonians, and of Asiatic grandees. To shun the appearance of submission to Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and, with a garland on his head, sung pæans in honour of a rotten Macedonian. These things we say not in accusation of Aratus (for in many respects he was a great man and worthy of Greece); we mean only to point out with compassion the weakness of human nature, which, in dispositions the best formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without some taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans assembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already settled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, proposed, "That he should take three hundred hostages for the security of his person, and enter the town alone; or, if he did not approve of that proposal, should come to the place of exercise without the walls, called Cyllarabium,§ and treat there at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonstrated, that these proceedings were very unjust. He said, "They should have made him these proposals at first, and not now, when he was come to their gates, distrust and shut him out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter on this subject, almost filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives against the king of Sparta. The consequence of this was, that the latter quickly retired, and sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald, according to Aratus, was sent, not to Argos, but to Ægium||, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared. There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league, and many towns were ready to fall off; for the common people hoped for an equal distribution of lands, and to have their

* Aratus wrote a history of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

† The music, like the architecture of the Dorians, was remarkable for its simplicity.

‡ This probably should be Tritæans. Tritææ was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricca, which was in Thessaly, could hardly be so.

§ From Cyllarbus, the son of Sthenelus.

|| This was a maritime town of Achaia, on the Corinthian Bay. The intention of Cleomenes was to take it by surprise, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

debts cancelled; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison. Afterwards he made himself master of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos to guard against any measures tending that way, and went themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the case, that, if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the greatest confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called Aspis, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding its difficulty of access. This struck them with such terror, that not a man thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens as hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince; for the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus, one of the ablest generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but lost his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the despatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts, and in an equal division of property, were now fully persuaded that he was the sole cause of all the change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thousand slaves. On which occasion, one of the old Spartans said, "the ene-

my had done them a kindness, in taking such a heavy charge off their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and discipline, than, as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they had given the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to its ancient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Cleonæ and Phlius* came in the same tide of success with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquisition at Corinth into the conduct of such as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian interest. But when the news of their late losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achæans, he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could think of no better expedient than that of calling the citizens to council, and, in the meantime, he stole away to the gate. A horse being ready for him there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or spoiled all their horses. He acquaints us also, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for suffering him to escape. Nevertheless, he adds, that Megistonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. He answered, "That affairs did not then depend upon him, but he must be governed by their circumstances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Trœzenians, the Epidaurians, and Hermionians, to the number of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refused to surrender. However, he sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and effects in that city. He likewise sent again to that general by Tritymallus, the Messenian, and proposed that the citadel should be garrisoned half with Achæ-

* Towns between Argos and Corinth.

ans and half with Lacedæmonians; offering, at the same time, to double the pension he had from Ptolemy, king of Egypt. As Aratus, instead of accepting these conditions, sent his son and other hostages to Antigonus, and persuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth should be put in the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in pursuance of a decree of the Corinthians, seized on the whole estate of Aratus. After Antigonus had passed Gerania* with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify the Onæan mountains† than the Isthmus, and by the advantage of his post to fire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a veteran phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations; for he had neither laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, nor could he easily force the pass by which Cleomenes had sat down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponnesus by the port of Lachæum,‡ but was repulsed with loss.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this success, and his troops went to their evening's refreshments with pleasure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely dispirited; for he saw himself in so troublesome a situation, that it was scarcely possible to find any resources which were not extremely difficult. At last he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to transport his troops in boats to Sicyon; but that required a great deal of time and very considerable preparations. However, the evening after, some of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by sea, being sent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and purposed to invite him to that city. Aristotle was the author of the defection; and he had found no great difficulty in persuading the people into it, because Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them room to hope. Upon this Aratus, with fifteen hundred men whom he had from Anti-

gonus, sailed to Epidaurus. But Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and, with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes getting intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonus, and, in an angry tone, ordered him to the relief of Argos; for it was he who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and, by that means, prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having despatched Megistonus upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians, assuring them, it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonus got into Argos, and was slain in a skirmish there; the garrison were hard pressed, and messenger after messenger sent to Cleomenes. Upon this he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege Sparta itself, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth, the consequence of which was the loss of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the meantime Cleomenes, having collected his forces which were scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called Aspis, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this he took some other quarters of the city by assault; and ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impossible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after achieving the greatest things in a short space of time, and making himself master of almost all Peloponnesus in one campaign, he

* Mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as Mount Citheron. Strab. l. vii.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

lost all in less time than he gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill success of this expedition. And what was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, messengers from Lacedæmon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and esteem for Agiatis was so great, that, amidst the current of his happiest success, he could not stay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of so beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loss. Yet his sorrow did not debase the dignity of his mind. He spoke in the same accent; he preserved the same dress and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the security of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedæmon; and after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himself to the concerns of state. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furnish him with succours, but it was on condition that he sent him his mother and children as hostages. This circumstance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to suspect that there was something which he was afraid to open to her, and she asked his friends what it might be. At last he ventured to tell her; upon which she laughed very pleasantly, and said, "Was this the thing which you have so long hesitated to express? Why do you not immediately put us on board a ship, and send this carcass of mine where you think it may be of most use to Sparta, before age renders it good for nothing, and sinks it into the grave?"

When everything was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus, the army conducting them to that port. Cratesiclea being on the point of taking ship, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where, seeing him in great emotion and concern, she threw her arms about him, and said, "King of Sparta, take care that when we go out, no one perceives us weep-

ing, or doing anything unworthy that glorious place. This alone is in our power; the event is in the hands of God." After she had given him this advice, and composed her countenance, she went on board, with her little grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea as soon as possible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, she understood that Ptolemy had received ambassadors from Antigonus, and seemed to listen to his proposals; and, on the other hand, she was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to put an end to the war without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to her son, to desire him "to do what he thought most advantageous and honourable for Sparta, and not for the sake of an old woman and a child, to live always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behaviour of Cratesiclea under adverse fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomanus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the *helots* as could pay five Attic *minæ* for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those *helots*, whom he designed to oppose to the *Leucaspides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprise. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans were the foremost and most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes resolved to surprise: for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days' provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he designed an inroad into the territories of Argos; but he turned short, and entered those of Megalopolis, and, after having refreshed his troops at Rhœtium, he marched, by Helicon,* directly to the object he had in view.

* Lubinus thinks it ought to be read Helisson, there being no such place as Helicon in Arcadia.

When he was near it, he sent Panteus before with two companies of Lacedæmonians, to seize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded. He followed with the rest of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the sentinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprized of the misfortune which had befallen them than the greatest part left the city, taking their money and most valuable effects with them. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow-citizens opportunity to escape. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the rest having retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before there was any possibility of pursuing them. A considerable part even of those who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of great name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes than he thus addressed him. "Now," said he in a loud voice, because it was at a distance, "now, king of Sparta, you have an opportunity to do an action much more glorious and princely than the late one, and to acquire immortal honour." Cleomenes, guessing at his aim, made answer, "You would not have me restore you the town?" "That is the very thing," said Lysandridas, "I would propose. I advise you, by all means, not to destroy so fine a city, but to fill it with firm friends and faithful allies, by restoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and becoming the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused awhile, and then replied, "This is hard to believe; but be it as it will, let glory with us have always greater weight than interest." In consequence of this deter-

mination, he sent the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made so gracious and humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league,* but assuring them that the king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearides and Lysandridas to leave Messene. This is that Philopœmen who afterwards was the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the most illustrious personages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houses and goods of the Megalopolitans with such care that not the least thing was embezzled, was enraged to such a degree that he plundered the whole, sent the statues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greatest and best parts of the city with the ground. After this, he marched home again, being under some apprehensions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They, however, made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *rostrum* on that occasion, where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly surprised, and desired him to speak. At last he said, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were astonished at so great and sudden a stroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops assembled slowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the second enterprise of Cleomenes appear rash and desperate: but Polybius,† on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foresight; for knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians

* Polybius bestows great and just encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans. l. 11.

† Polybius, lib. xi.

were dispersed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him. Antagonized the territories of that city in the persuasion that either the shame of suffering such an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expose him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into disrepute with the Argives. The event justified his expectation. When the people of Argos saw their country laid waste, everything that was valuable destroyed or carried off, they ran in great displeasure to the king's gates, and besieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or else give place to his superiors. Antigonus, however, like a wise and able general, thought the censures of strangers no disgrace, in comparison of his quitting a place of security, and rashly hazarding a battle, and therefore he abode by his first resolutions. Cleomenes, in the meantime, marched up to the very walls, insulted his enemies, and, before he retired, spread desolation at his pleasure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a design to enter Laconia on that side. Upon this emergency he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with scythes and sickles, as people usually do, but beat it down with wooden instruments in the form of scymitars, as if this destruction was only an amusement to his soldiers in their march. Yet when they would have set fire to Cyllarabis, the school of exercise, he prevented it; reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by passion than by reason.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the passes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmost contempt, sent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. After he had pleased himself with this insult on his enemy, and offered his sacrifice under the walls of the temple, which was fast shut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march from thence he dislodged

the garrison of Ologuntum, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inspired this people with fresh courage, but came to be considered by the enemy as a most able general, and a man capable of the greatest undertakings; for, with the strength of the single city to oppose the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponnesians, and all the treasures of the king; and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devastation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and spirit.

He who first called money *the sinews of business*, seems principally to have had respect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treasury was very low, told them, "They must think of baking bread, before they thought of an embarkation." It is also said, that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the quota of each should be determined, made answer, that "war cannot be kept at a set diet." And in this case we may justly say, that as wrestlers, strengthened by long exercise, do at last tire out those who have equal skill and agility, but not the exercise; so Antigonus coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time tired out and overcame Cleomenes, who could but in a very slender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being drawn home by the bad posture of his affairs; for in his absence the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, descending with a great army from the north, harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were forced to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewell; but fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, showed on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be.* As soon as

* Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

the battle of Sellasia* was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers came to call Antigonus home. This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans on what conditions he pleased. But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men was forced to challenge thirty thousand.

He showed himself an excellent general in the whole course of the action; his Spartans behaved with great spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the superior advantage the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to fetch a compass, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshaling the rest of his army. Cleomenes taking a view from an eminence of his adversary's disposition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnanians were posted, and began to fear they were designed for some such manoeuvre. He therefore called Damotecles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the movements they in-

tended. Damotecles, who it is said was bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "he had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all was safe in the rear; nor was there anything more to be done but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped, and cried out, "thou art lost, my dear brother, thou art lost! in spite of all thy valour! but great is thy example to our Spartan youth, and the songs of our matrons shall for ever record thee!"†

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being slain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who seeing his men in great confusion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that of six thousand Lacedæmonians no more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men who had escaped with him, help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his house a young woman, who was a native of Megalopolis, and freeborn, but had fell into his hands at the sack of the place. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field. But though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only leaned his elbow against a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he

* Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, for want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action and was beaten. POL. lib. 11.

† He acted like a brave soldier, but not a skilful officer. Instead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board vessels provided for that purpose, and immediately put out to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic; for he offered them no kind of insult, but restored to them their laws and polity; and after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war; and that the barbarians were ravaging the country: besides he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. However, he bore up under his affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, until a great victory over, and carnage of the barbarians made him die more glorious. Phylarchus tells us, (and it is not at all improbable) that he burst a vessel in his lungs with shouting in the battle: though it passed in the schools, that in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythæa, where Cleomenes first touched, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of high and intrepid spirit, on all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addressed him: "We have lost, my prince, the most glorious death, which we might have found in the battle; though the world had heard us boast that Antigonus should never conquer the king of Sparta till he had slain him. Yet there is another exit still offered us by glory and virtue. Whither then are we so absurdly sailing? Flying a death that is near, and seeking one that is remote. If it is not dishonourable for the descendants of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, why do not we save ourselves a long voyage, by making our submission to Antigonus, who, in all probability, as much excels Ptolemy as the Macedonians do the Egyptians? But if we do

not choose to be governed by a man who beat us in the field, why do we take one who never conquered us, for our master? Is it that we may show our inferiority to two, instead of one, by flying before Antigonus, and then going to flatter Ptolemy? Shall we say that you go into Egypt for the sake of your mother? It will be a glorious and happy thing truly for her, to show Ptolemy's wives her son, of a king become a captive and an exile. No! while we are yet masters of our swords, and are yet in sight of Laconia, let us deliver ourselves from this miserable fortune, and make our excuse for our past behaviour to those brave men who fell for Sparta at Sellasia. Or shall we rather sit down in Egypt, and inquire whom Antigonus has left governor of Lacedæmon?"

Thus Therycion spoke, and Cleomenes made this answer: "Dost thou think, then, wretch that thou art! dost thou think, by running into the arms of death, than which nothing is more easy to find, to show thy courage and fortitude? And dost thou not consider that this flight is more dastardly than the former? Better men than we have given way to their enemies, being either over-set by fortune, or oppressed by numbers. But he who gives out either for fear of labour and pain, or of the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim to his own cowardice: a voluntary death ought to be an action, not a retreat from action; for it is an ungenerous thing either to live or die for ourselves. All that thy expedient could possibly do would be only extricating us from our present misfortunes, without answering any purpose either of honour or utility; but I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all hopes for our country. If those hopes should desert us, death, when we seek for him, will not be hard to find." Therycion made no reply; but the first opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the shore and stabbed himself.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and sailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was first introduced to Ptolemy,* that prince behaved to

* Ptolemy Euergetes

him with sufficient kindness and humanity; but when, upon farther trial of him, he found what strength of understanding he had, and that his laconic and simple way of conversing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleasantry; when he saw that he did not, in any instance whatever, dishonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleasure in his discourse than in the mean sacrifices of complaisance and flattery. He greatly repented too, and blushed at the thought of having neglected such a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired so much power and glory. He, therefore, encouraged him now with every mark of attention and respect, and promised to send him back to Greece with a fleet and supply of money, to re-establish him in his kingdom. His present appointments amounted to four-and-twenty talents by the year: out of this he maintained himself and friends in a sober and frugal manner, and bestowed the rest in offices of humanity to such Greeks as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court soon becoming a scene of debauchery, where women had the sway, the business of Cleomenes was neglected; for the king* was so much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more sober and serious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of mysteries, and the beating of a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of state were left to his mistress, Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenantes, the infamous minister to his pleasures. It appears, however, that at first some use was made of Cleomenes; for Ptolemy, being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's interest, stood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a consultation in his cabinet; the subject of which was, whether he should destroy his brother: all the rest voted for it, but Cleomenes opposed it strongly. He said, "The king, if it were possible, should have more brothers, for the greater security of the

crown, and the better management of affairs." And when Sosibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could not be depended on while Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no pain about that; "For," said he, "above three thousand of the mercenaries are Peloponnesians, who, upon a nod from me, will be ready with their arms." Hence, Ptolemy, for the present, looked upon Cleomenes not only as a fast friend, but a man of power; but his weakness afterwards increasing his timidity, as is common with people of little understanding, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp, and they considered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his interest with the mercenaries; inso-much that many were heard to say, "That he was a lion among a flock of sheep." Such, indeed, he seemed to be in court, where, with a silent severity of aspect, he observed all that passed.

In these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops. But being informed that Antigonus was dead, and that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called strongly for his presence, in the troubles and distractions that then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends. Yet no man listened to him. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of Bacchanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that it was not safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit; and because he had been an eye witness to the distempered state of the kingdom: for it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the ox Apis, though revelling, to all appearance in every delight that he can desire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him; so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but like Achilles,

* Ptolemy Philopater.

Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind :
In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter
roll.
And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his
soul.

POPE.

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who concealed the most rancorous hatred of Cleomenes, under the pretence of friendship, came to Alexandria. It seems he had formerly sold him a handsome piece of ground, and the king, either through want of money or his continual engagement in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just landing from a merchantman, and saluting him with great kindness, asked, "What business had brought him to Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendship, and answered; "I am bringing some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished that you had brought him some female musicians and pathics, for those are the cattle that the king at present likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had sold him, and desired he might now be paid; pretending, that he would not have given him any trouble about it, if he had not found considerable loss in the disposal of his merchandise. Cleomenes assured him, "That he had nothing left of what the kings of Egypt had given him;" upon which, Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would exasperate Ptolemy still more, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, asserting, that, "If the Spartan prince had received a supply of ships and men from the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have made use of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days after, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be

served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress, desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He came and talked to him plausibly enough, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions and to apologize for the king. But as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand, "for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who, if he escaped, in all probability could be taken no more." Cleomenes having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this, they all dismissed their former hopes, and, taking the measures which anger dictated, they resolved to revenge themselves of Ptolemy's injurious and insolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, instead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar; for they thought it an insufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had disdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior, and a man of action, should sit expecting his fate from a prince who assumed the character of a priest of Cybele, and who, after he had laid aside his drum and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of sport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their resolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be released; and as it was the custom of the kings of Egypt to send those to whom they designed to extend such a grace a supper, and other tokens of friendship, the friends of Cleomenes made ample provision for the purpose, and sent it to the gate. By this stratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the whole was sent by the king. Cleomenes then offered sacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on his

head, and afterwards sat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers should have large portions to regale them. It is said, that he set about his enterprise sooner than he intended, because he found that one of the servants who was in the secret had been out all night with his mistress. Fearing, therefore, that a discovery might be made about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night still kept the guards fast asleep, he put on his military tunic, having first opened the seam of the left shoulder, and rushed out, sword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutred in the same manner.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at first was enabled, by the spirit of the enterprise, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme by waiting for a man who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horse in the street; they took it, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had just spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and despatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot; they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards, and, dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison and join the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party; but the keepers had prevented them by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus disappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a single man would join him, but that all avoided him as they would avoid infection.

He therefore stopped, and said to his friends, "It is no wonder that women govern a people who fly from liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they would all die in a manner that would reflect no dishonour upon him, or on

their own achievements." Hippotas desired one of the younger men to despatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterwards each of them, without fear or delay, fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis when it was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age; remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had given him a great share in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to despatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He, therefore, kissed him, and sat down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpse, slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and showed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior fortitude, sunk under the weight of the calamity; she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The eldest of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expressed his grief and indignation that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother, and the women her companions. Amongst these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidst the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him; but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in close custody. But soon after she provided herself a horse and a little

money, and, making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She was brought safe to Panteus, and she cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences they found in a foreign country. When the soldiers came to take out Cratesiclea to execution, she led her by the hand, assisting in bearing her robe, and desired her to exert all the courage she was mistress of; though she was far from being afraid of death, and desired no other favour than that she might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution, the children suffered before her eyes, and then Cratesiclea was despatched, who, in this extreme distress, uttered only these words, "O! my children! whither are you gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong, girt her robe about her, and, in a silent and composed manner, paid the last offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her present circumstances would admit. Last of all, she prepared herself for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjusting it in such a manner as to need no assistance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other person to approach her, she fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the decorum she had preserved in life; and the decency which had been so sacred with this excellent woman still remained about her. Thus, in this bloody tra-

gedy, wherein the women contended to the last for the prize of courage with the men, Læcedæmon shewed that *it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the soldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross* saw a great snake winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and made way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods, till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions, by assuring them, that, as dead oxen breed bees,† horses wasps, and beetles rise out of the putrefaction of asses; so human carcasses, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker consistence, produce serpents. The ancients, knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

* That the friends of the deceased might not take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius's Ephesian Matron. *Miles qui cruces asservabat, nequis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret*: And thus we find in an authority we shall not mention at the same time with Petronius.

† This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro, &c. &c.



TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them; and no less dreadful a scene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus; who, though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived still greater dignity from his virtues.* Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for him to die

first, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children.†

The care of the house and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much parental affection and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed not to have judged ill, in choosing to die for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addresses to her, and offered her a share in his throne, she refused him. During her widowhood, she lost all her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with so much care, that though they were without dispute of the noblest family, and had the happiest genius and disposition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfections than nature.

As in the statues and pictures of Cas-

* Cicero, in his first book *de Divinatione*, passes the highest encomiums on his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Publius Sempronius.

† Cicero relates this story in his first book *de Divinatione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius.

tor and Pollux, though there is a resemblance between the brothers, yet there is also a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *cestus* and in the other whose province was horsemanship; so while these young men strongly resembled each other in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatness of mind, there appeared in their actions and political conduct no small dissimilarity. It may not be amiss to explain the difference before we proceed farther.

In the first place, Tiberius had a mildness in his look, and a composure in his whole behaviour; Caius as much vehemence and fire. So that when they spoke in public, Tiberius had a great modesty of action, and shifted not his place; whereas Caius was the first of the Romans that, in addressing the people, moved from one end of the *rostra* to the other, and threw his gown off his shoulder. So it is related of Cleon of Athens, that he was the first orator who threw back his robe and smote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was strongly impassioned, and calculated to excite terror; that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raised.

The language of Tiberius was chaste and elaborate; that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal; Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober, but, in comparison with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence, Drusus objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables,* of silver only, but very exquisite workmanship, at the rate of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a pound.

Their tempers were no less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle; Caius, high-spirited and uncontrolled, insomuch, that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abusive expressions, and disorder the whole frame of his oration. To guard against these excesses, he ordered his servant Licinius, who was a sensible man, to stand with a pitch-

pipe† behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice or breaking out into anger, to give him a softer key; upon which, his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he was easily recalled to a propriety of address.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in the valour they exerted against their enemies, in the justice they did their fellow-citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; consequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing that prevented their success. Had they flourished together, and acted in concert, such an union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irresistible. We must, therefore, speak of each separately; and we shall begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs, rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is also a proof. Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship, whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and who in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping one evening with the *augurs* at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no sooner entered the house, than he called out aloud to his wife, and said, "Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia." Antistia, much surprised, answered, "Why so suddenly? What need of such haste, unless Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that some‡ tell the

† Cicero, in his third book *De Oratore*, calls this a small ivory pipe. *Eburneola fistula*.

‡ Amongst these was Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 37.

* These, we suppose, were a kind of tripods.

same story of Tiberius, the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africanus; but most historians give it in the manner we have mentioned; and Polybius, in particular, tells us, that after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference of all competitors, which is a proof that her father left her unengaged.

The Tiberius of whom we are writing served in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister; and, as he lived in the same tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of such actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and attract his imitation. With these advantages Tiberius soon excelled all of his age, both in point of discipline and valour. At a siege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls, as Fannius relates,* who, according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a share in the honour. In short, Tiberius, while he staid with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

After this expedition he was appointed quæstor, and it fell to his lot to attend the consul Caius Mancinus in the Numantian war.† Mancinus did not want courage, but he was one of the most unfortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet, amidst a train of severe accidents and desperate circumstances, Tiberius distinguished himself the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what did him greater honour, by his respectful behaviour to his general, whose misfortunes had made him forget even the authority that he bore; for, after having lost several important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night. The Numantians, perceiving this movement, seized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives, made great havock of the rear. Not satisfied with this, they surrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there was no possibility of escape. Mancinus, now despairing of making his way

sword in hand, sent a herald to beg a truce and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would trust no man but Tiberius, and they insisted on his being sent to treat. This they did, not only out of regard to the young man who had so great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and after having subdued several nations, granted the Numantians a peace, which through his interest was confirmed at Rome, and observed with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly sent; and, in his negotiation, he thought proper to comply with some articles, by which means he gained others, and made a peace that undoubtedly saved twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides slaves and other retainers to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp the Numantians took as legal plunder. Among the rest they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quæstorship. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magistrates of the place, he desired them to restore him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity to accuse him, when they saw he had lost the means of defending himself. The Numantians were much pleased that the accident had given them an opportunity to oblige him, and they invited him to enter their city. As he was deliberating on this circumstance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earnestly entreated him no longer to look upon them as enemies, but to rank them among his friends, and place a confidence in them as such. Tiberius thought it best to comply, both for the sake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance of distrust. Accordingly he went into the town with them, where the first thing they did was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterwards they returned him his books, and desired he would take whatever else he chose among the spoils. He accepted, however, of nothing but some frankincense, to be used in the public sacrifices, and at his departure

* This Fannius was author of a history and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus

† He was consul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 616.

he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he found that the whole business of the peace was considered in an obnoxious and dishonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the soldiers he had brought off, who made a very considerable part of the people, joined to support Tiberius; imputing all the disgrace of what was done to the general, and insisting that the quaestor had saved so many citizens. The general, however, could not suffer the peace to stand, and they demanded that, in this case, the example of their ancestors should be followed; for when their generals thought themselves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to such a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy.* The quaestors, too, and the tribunes, and all that had a share in concluding the peace, they sent back in the same condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of the treaty and of the oath that should have confirmed it.

On this occasion the people showed their affection for Tiberius in a remarkable manner; for they decreed that the consul should be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains, but that all the rest should be spared for the sake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and interest in Rome, seems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithstanding, for not saving Mancinus, nor using his best endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Great part of these complaints, indeed, seems to have arisen from the ambition and excessive zeal of Tiberius's friends and the sophists he had about him; and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcilable enmity. Nay, I am persuaded that Tiberius would never have fallen into those misfortunes that ruined him, had

Scipio been at home to assist him in his political conduct. He was engaged in war with Numantia when Tiberius ventured to propose his new laws. It was on this occasion:—

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly to sell part, to add part to the public demesnes, and to distribute the rest among the necessitous citizens, only reserving a small rent to be paid into the treasury. But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a law was made that no man should be possessed of more than five hundred acres of land. This statute for awhile restrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who, by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they scrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor, thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The consequence was a want of freemen all over Italy; for it was filled with slaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were dispossessed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Laelius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this disorder; but finding a formidable opposition from persons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the sword, he gave it up. This gained him the name of Laelius the *wise*.† But Tiberius was no sooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the same enterprise. He was put upon it, according to most authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Blossius the philosopher; the former of whom was a Mitylenian exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to address some of his philosophical writings to him.

* This was about one hundred and eighty-two years before. The generals sent back were the consuls Veturius Calvinus and Postumius Albinus.

† Plutarch seems here to have followed some mistaken authority. It was not this circumstance, but the abstemiousness of his life, that gave Laelius the name of *wise*.

Some blame his mother Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. Others say, Tiberius took this rash step from a jealousy of Spurius Posthumius, who was of the same age with him, and his rival in oratory. It seems, when he returned from the wars, he found Posthumius so much before him in point of reputation and interest with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook this hazardous affair, which so effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them in so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition, by putting up writings on the porticoes, walls, and monuments, in which they begged of him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor.

Yet he did not frame the law without consulting some of the Romans that were most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scævola the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius, father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression; for they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied; they were willing to overlook what was passed, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

On the other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out of avarice, and the lawyer out of a spirit of resentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the

Agrarian law to throw all into disorder, and subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain; for, in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the *rostrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods; for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

Such speeches as this, delivered by a man of such spirit, and flowing from a heart really interested in the cause, filled the people with an enthusiastic fury, and none of his adversaries durst pretend to answer him. Forbearing, therefore, the war of words, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the task at first; but upon a number of applications from men of the first rank, he was prevailed upon to oppose Tiberius, and prevent the passing of the law; for the tribunes' power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them stands out, the rest can effect nothing.

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropped his moderate bill, and proposed another more agreeable to the commonalty, and more severe against the usurpers; for by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this subject there were daily disputes between him and

Octavius on the *rostra*, yet not one abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped either of them in all the heat of speaking. Indeed, an ingenuous disposition and liberal education will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a superior nature.

Tiberius, observing that Octavius was liable to suffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, desired him to give up his opposition, and offered, at the same time, to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As this proposal was not accepted, Tiberius forbade all other magistrates to exercise their functions, till the *Agrarian* law was passed. He likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the *quæstors* might neither bring anything into the treasury, nor take anything out; and he threatened to fine such of the *prætors* as should attempt to disobey his command. This struck such a terror, that all departments of government were at a stand. Persons of great property put themselves into mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances that they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him: for which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a *dolon*.*

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting vessels,† which occasioned great

confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partisans were preparing to have recourse to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose in execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had its effect upon him; he therefore asked them what they would have him do. They said, they were not capable of advising him in so important an affair, and earnestly entreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the people of fortune on that body was such, that their debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure that was neither just nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there was no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him, indeed, in public first, in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand, conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompense for the great labours and dangers they had experienced; but Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "That it was not possible for two magistrates of equal authority, when they differed in such capital points, to go through the remainder of their office without coming to hostilities, he saw no other remedy but the deposing of them." He therefore desired Octavius to take the sense of the people first with respect to him; assuring him that he would immediately return to a private station if the suffrages of his fellow-citizens should order it so. As Octavius rejected this proposal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the question to the people concerning him, if upon farther consideration he did not alter his mind.

Upon this he dismissed the assembly. Next day he convoked it again; and when he had mounted the *rostra*, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance; but finding him inflexible, he proposed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately

* We find this word used by Virgil.

Pila manu, sævosque gerunt in bella dolones.
Æn. vii. 664.

The *dolon* was a staff that had a poniard concealed within it, and had its name from *dolus*, deceit.

† The original signifies an urn. The Romans had two sorts of vessels which they used in balloting. The first were open vessels called *cista*, or *cistella*, which contained the ballots before they were distributed to the people; the others, with narrow necks, were called *stella*, and into these the people cast their ballots. The latter were the vessels which are here said to have been carried off.

put it to the vote. When, of the five and thirty tribes, seventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderness in the sight of the people, and with the most pressing instances besought him, neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor expose him to the disreputation of being promoter of such severe and violent measures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties; his eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent: but when he looked towards the persons of property, who were assembled in a body, shame and fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution to run all risks, and, with a noble firmness, he bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill, therefore, was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as licitors. This ignominious manner of expulsion made the case of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him; but by the assistance of those of the landed interest, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life; however, a faithful servant of his, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who no sooner saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three, his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, another, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius having carried these points without opposition, next filled up the vacant tribune's seat, into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. These proceedings exasperated the patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity to

insult him in the senate. When he desired, for instance, what was nothing more than customary, a tent at the public charge, for his use in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been often granted on much less important occasions; and, at the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine *oboli* a day allowed for his expenses. Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy; for he had a great estate in the public lands, and was of course unwilling to be stripped of it.

At the same time the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius's friends happening to die suddenly and malignant spots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poisoned. They assembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their shoulders, and carried it to the pile; there they were confirmed in their suspicions; for the corpse burst, and emitted such a quantity of corrupted humours, that it put out the fire: though more fire was brought, still the wood would not burn till it was removed to another place, and it was with much difficulty at last that the body was consumed. Hence Tiberius took occasion to incense the commonalty still more against the other party; he put himself in mourning; he led his children into the forum, and recommended them and their mother to the protection of the people, as giving up his own life for lost.

About this time died Attalus Philopator;* and Eudemus of Pergamus, brought his will to Rome, by which it appeared, that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a law, "That all the ready money the king had left should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide working tools and proceed in the cultivation of their new assigned lands. As to the cities, too, in the territories of Attalus, the senate, he said, had not a right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgment."

* This was Attalus III. the son of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the last king of Pergamus. He was not, however, surnamed *Philopator*, but *Philometor*, and so it stands in the manuscript of St. Germain.

This embroiled him still more with the senate; and one of their body of the name of Pompey, stood up and said, "He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means had opportunity to know that Eudemus the Pergamenian had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe for his use when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him; "During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper,* the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours; but you, at a late hour, have some of the meanest and most audacious of the people about you with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute disputant, and remarkable for the subtlety both of his questions and answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in deposing one of his colleagues, whose person by the laws was sacred and inviolable. This proposition raised a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius appeared; and knowing himself greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse to his old art, and begged leave only to ask him a question before the business came on. Tiberius consented, and silence being made, Annius said, "Would you fix a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, if I should appeal to one of your colleagues? And if he came to my assistance, would you in your anger deprive him of his office?" It is said, that this question so puzzled Tiberius, that with all his readiness of speech and propriety of assurance, he made no manner of answer.

He therefore dismissed the assembly for the present. He perceived, however, that the step he had taken in deposing a tribune had offended not only the patricians but the people too, for by such a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which till then had been preserved

in great security and honour. In consequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a speech to them, from which it may not be amiss to give an extract, by way of specimen of the power and strength of his eloquence. "The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection; but when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people, when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to the intention of his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man who should do such things as those might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminishes the privileges of the people ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you to think that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul, and the people not have it in their power to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? For the tribunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings are consecrated with the most awful ceremonies; yet the citizens expelled Tarquin when his administration became iniquitous; and for the offence of one man, the ancient government, under whose auspices Rome was erected, was entirely abolished. What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable as the vestal virgins who keep the perpetual fire? Yet if any of them transgress the rules of her order, she is buried alive; for they who are guilty of impiety against the gods lose that sacred character, which they had only for the sake of the gods. So a tribune who injures the people can be no longer sacred and inviolable on the people's account; he destroys that power in which alone his strength lay. If it is just for him to be invested with the tribunitial authority by a majority of tribes, is it not more just for him to be deposed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the

* Probably from the public hall where he supped with his colleague.

gods? yet none pretend to hinder the people from making use of them, or removing them wherever they please: and, indeed, that the tribune's office is not inviolable or unremovable, appears from hence, that several have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged at their own request." These were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being sensible of the menaces of his enemies, and the combination to destroy him, were of opinion that he ought to make interest to get the tribuneship continued to him another year. For this purpose he thought of other laws to secure the commonalty on his side; that for shortening the time of military service, and that for granting an appeal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time consisted of senators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and senators; though it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians savoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote, whether these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party, perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest (for all the people did not attend,) spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes; and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the meantime he entered the forum with all the ensigns of distress, and with tears in his eyes, humbly applied to the citizens, assuring them, "He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, and take his life before the next morning." This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At daybreak the person who had the care of the chickens which they used in augury, brought them, and set meat before them; but they would none of them come out of their pen except one, though the man shook it very much, and that one would not eat;* it only raised up its left wing and stretched out its leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill

omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent; two serpents that had crept into it privately, laid their eggs and hatched in it; such a bad presage made him more afraid of the late one. Yet he set out for the capitol as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there; but in going out of his house he stumbled upon the threshold, and struck it with so much violence that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had got a little on his way, he saw on his left hand two ravens fighting on the top of a house, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a stone which one of the ravens threw down fell close to his foot; this staggered the boldest of his partisans; but Blossius† of Cumæ, one of his train, said, "It would be an insupportable disgrace if Tiberius the son of Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the people of Rome, should, for fear of a raven, disappoint that people when they called him to their assistance. His enemies, he assured him, would not be satisfied with laughing at this false step; they would represent him to the commons as already taking all the insolence of a tyrant upon him."

At the same time several messengers from his friends in the capitol came and desired him to make haste, for (they told him) every thing went there according to his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations; on his approach, they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him to keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribes, in order to business; but nothing could be done in the usual form, by reason of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forward. Meantime, Fulvius‡ Flaccus, a senator, got upon an eminence, and knowing he

+ In the printed text it is Blastus; but one of the manuscripts gives us Blossius, and all the translators have followed it.

‡ Not Flavius, as it is in the printed text.

* When the chickens ate greedily, they thought it a sign of good fortune.

could not be heard, made a sign with his hand, that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed him, "That those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the senate was sitting, and, as they could not bring that magistrate into their views, they had resolved to despatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves."

Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberds with which the sergeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces, to ward against any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, asked what the reason might be; and Tiberius, finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to signify the danger he was in. His adversaries, seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem; alleging that gesture as a proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, "That he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree anything contrary to the constitution, he would take care to annul it." Upon which, Nasica started up, and said, "Since the consul gives up his country, let all who choose to support the laws follow me." So saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe, and then advanced to the capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand, and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their superior quality, they met with no resistance; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized the feet of the benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed,

they made towards Tiberius; knocking down such as stood before him. These being killed or dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under garment. He happened, however, to stumble, and fall upon some of the killed. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and struck him on the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himself upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more lost their lives by clubs and stones, but not a man by the sword.

This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed. All the rest, though neither small in themselves, nor about matters of little consequence, were appeased by mutual concessions; the senate giving up something, on one side, for fear of the people, and the people, on the other, out of respect for the senate. Had Tiberius been moderately dealt with, it is probable that he would have compromised matters in a much easier way; and certainly he might have been reduced, without their depriving him of his life; for he had not above three thousand men about him. But, it seems, the conspiracy was formed against him, rather to satisfy the resentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reasons they held out to the public. A strong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body; for, notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpse, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcasses. Nor was this all: they banished some of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they shut up in a cask with vipers and other serpents, and left him to perish in that cruel manner. As for Blossius of Cumæ, he was carried before the consuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings, he declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius

commanded.* "What, then," said Nasica, "if Tiberius had ordered thee to burn the capitol, would'st thou have done it?" At first he turned it off, and said, "Tiberius would never have given him such an order." But when a number repeated the same question several times, he said, "In that case I should have thought it extremely right; for Tiberius would never have laid such a command upon me, if it had not been for the advantage of the people of Rome." He escaped, however, with his life, and afterwards repaired to Aristonicus,† in Asia; but finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himself.

The senate, now desirous to reconcile the people to these acts of theirs, no longer opposed the Agrarian law; and they permitted them to elect another commissioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the lands. In consequence of which, they chose Publius Crassus, a relation of the Gracchi; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, says, it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of that Brutus who was honoured with a triumph for his con-

* Lælius, in the treatise written by Cicero under that name, gives a different account of the matter. "Blossius," he says, "after the murder of Tiberius, came to him, whilst he was in conference with the consuls Popilius Lænas and Publius Rupilius, and earnestly begged for a pardon, alleging in his defence, that, such was his veneration for Tiberius, he could not refuse to do anything he desired." "If, then," said Lælius, "he had ordered you to set fire to the capitol, would you have done it?" "That," replied Blossius, "he would never have ordered me; but if he had, I should have obeyed him." Blossius does not, upon this occasion, appear to have been under a judicial examination, as Plutarch represents him.

† Aristonicus was a bastard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him for bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, attempted to get possession of it by arms, and made himself master of several towns. The Romans sent Crassus the consul against him, the second year after the death of Tiberius. Crassus was defeated and taken by Aristonicus. The year following, Aristonicus was defeated in his turn, and taken prisoner by Perpenna.

quests in Lusitania; but most historians give it for the former.

Nevertheless, the people were still much concerned at the loss of Tiberius, and it was plain they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Nasica was now threatened with an impeachment. The senate, therefore, dreading the consequence, sent him into Asia, though there was no need of him there; for the people, whenever they met him, did not suppress their resentment in the least; on the contrary, with all the violence that hatred could suggest, they called him an execrable wretch, a tyrant who had defiled the holiest and most awful temple in Rome with the blood of a magistrate, whose person ought to have been sacred and inviolable.

For this reason Nasica privately quitted Italy, though by his office he was obliged to attend the principal sacrifices, for he was chief pontiff. Thus he wandered from place to place in a foreign country, and after awhile died at Pergamus. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had so unconquerable an aversion to Nasica, since Scipio Africanus himself, who seems to have been one of the greatest favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had great right to their affection, was near forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, because when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expressed himself in that verse of Homer,

So perish all that in such crimes engage.‡

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, and by his answer he gave them to understand that he was far from approving of his proceedings. Ever after this, the commons interrupted him when he spoke in public, though they had offered him no such affront before; and on the other hand, he scrupled not to treat them with very severe language. But these things we have related at large in the life of Scipio.

‡ In Minerva's speech to Jupiter. *Odyss.* lib. I.



CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at first he left the *forum*, and kept close in his own house; like one who was either sensible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public business no more his object; insomuch that some scrupled not to affirm that he disapproved and even detested his brother's administration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being so old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a short time it appeared that he had an aversion, not only to idleness and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he considered them as the wings on which he must rise to the great offices of state. These circumstances showed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted so much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expression, and borne away with all the transports of enthusiasm. On this occasion he showed that other orators were no more than children in comparison. The nobility had all their former apprehensions renewed, and they began to take measures among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Orestes* the consul in Sardinia in capacity of quæstor. This gave his enemies great pleasure. Caius, however, was not uneasy on the event, for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Besides, he was under some apprehension about taking a share in the administration, or of appearing upon the *rostra*, and at the same time he knew that he could not resist the importunities of the people or his friends. For these reasons he thought himself happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius to make himself popular. But that is not the truth; on the contrary, it seems to have been rather necessity than choice that brought him upon the public stage; for Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had taken a resolution to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him: "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed us both the same pursuit of life, and the

* Lucius Aurelius Orestes was consul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 627; so that Caius went quæstor into Sardinia at the age of 27.

same death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble specimen of every virtue, distinguishing himself greatly among the other young Romans, not only in his operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice to such as submitted, but in his respectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, in simplicity of diet, and love of labour, he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a severe and sickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for his men. But they sent a deputation to Rome to solicit an exemption from this burden. The senate listened to their request, and ordered the general to take some other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the soldiers suffered much in the meantime, Caius applied to the towns in person, and prevailed with them to send the Romans a voluntary supply of clothing. News of this being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attempts at popularity, the senate were greatly disturbed at it. Another instance they gave of their jealousy, was in the ill reception which the ambassadors of Micipsa found, who came to acquaint them, that the king their master, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had sent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambassadors were turned out of the house; and the senate proceeded to make a decree, that the private men in Sardinia should be relieved, but that Orestes should remain, in order that he might keep his quæstor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him so far that he embarked; and as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only censured by his enemies, but the people in general thought it singular that the quæstor should return before his general. An information was laid against him before the censors, and he obtained permission to speak for himself: which he did so effectually, that the whole court changed their opinions, and were persuaded that he was very much injured; for he told them, "He had served twelve campaigns, whereas he was not obliged to serve more than ten; and

that in capacity of quæstor, he had attended his general three years,* though the laws did not require him to do it more than one." He added, "That he was the only man who went out with a full purse, and returned with an empty one; while others, after having drank the wine they carried out, brought back the vessels filled with gold and silver."

After this, they brought other charges against him. They accused him of promoting disaffection among the allies, and of being concerned in the conspiracy of Fregellæ,† which was detected about that time. He cleared himself, however, of all suspicion; and having fully proved his innocence, offered himself to the people as a candidate for the tribuneship. The patricians united their forces to oppose him; but such a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to support his election, that many of them could not get lodging, and the *Campus Martius* not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houses.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this: instead of being returned first, as he had flattered himself he should be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he soon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly superior to the rest, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him an opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother; for whatever subject he began upon, before he had done, he led the people back to that idea, and at the same time put them in mind of the different behaviour of their ancestors. "Your forefathers," said he, "declared war against the Falisci, in order to revenge the cause of Genusius, one of their tribunes, to whom that people had given scurrilous language; and they thought capital punishment little enough for Caius Veturius, because he alone did

* Great part of this speech is preserved by Julius Gellius; but there Caius says he had been quæstor only two years. *Biennium enim fui in provincia.* Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 15.

† This place was destroyed by Lucius Opimius the prætor, in the year of Rome 629

not break way for a tribune who was passing through the *forum*. But you suffered Tiberius to be despatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to be dragged from the capitol through the middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands, were put to death without form of trial. Yet, by the custom of our country, if any person under a prosecution for a capital crime, did not appear, an officer was sent to his door in the morning, to summon him by sound of trumpet, and the judges would never pass sentence before so public a citation. So tender were our ancestors in any matter where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by such speeches as this (for his voice was strong enough to be heard by so great a multitude), he proposed two laws. One was, "That if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office:" the other, "That if any magistrate should banish a citizen without a legal trial, the people should be authorized to take cognizance of that offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship; and the second to Popilius, who, in his prætorship, had banished the friends of Tiberius. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he said, his mother Cornelia, who interposed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly satisfied; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a statue to her, with this inscription:

CORNELIA THE MOTHER OF THE
GRACCHI.

There are several extraordinary expressions of Caius Gracchus handed down to us concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he said, "Darest thou pretend to reflect on Cornelia, the mother of Tiberius?" And as that person had spent his youth in an infamous manner, he said, "With what front canst thou put thyself upon a footing with Cornelia? Hast thou brought

children as she has done? Yet all Rome knows that she has lived longer than thou hast without any commerce with men." Such was the keenness of his language; and many expressions equally severe might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, to increase the authority of the people, and lessen that of the senate, one related to colonizing, and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to serve till they were full seventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the same right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than anything to retrench the power of the senate; for, before this, senators only were judges in all causes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equestrian order and to the people. But now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred senators, and decreed that a judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred.* In offering this bill, he exerted himself greatly in all respects, but there was one thing very remarkable: whereas the orators before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces towards the senate-house and the *comitium*, he then, for the first time, turned the other way, that is to say, towards the *forum*, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus, by a small alteration in the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an aristocracy into a democratic form: for, by this action, he intimated, that all orators ought to

* The authorities of all antiquity are against Plutarch in this article. Caius did not associate the knights and the senators in the judicial power; but vested that power in the knights only, and they employed it, till the consulship of Servilius Cæpio, for the space of sixteen or seventeen years. Velleius, Asconius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himself sufficiently prove

address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but empowered him to select the three hundred out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself in a manner possessed of sovereign power. Even the senate in their deliberations were willing to listen to his advice; and he never gave them any that was not suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree, for instance, was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *proprætor* in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and send the money to the Spanish states; and at the same time to censure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for sending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all these matters he was appointed supreme director, and yet was far from thinking so much business a fatigue. On the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and despatched it with as much ease, as if there had been only one thing for him to attend to; in-somuch, that they who both hated and feared the man, were struck with his amazing industry, and the celerity of his operations. The people were charmed to see him followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, military men, and men of letters. These were all kindly received; yet amidst his civilities he preserved a dignity, addressing each according to his capacity and station: by which he showed how unjust the censures of those people were, who represented him as a violent and overbearing man; for he had even a more popular manner in conversation and in business, than in his addresses from the *rostrum*.

The work that he took most pains with was that of the public roads; in which he paid a great regard to beauty as well as use. They were drawn in a straight line through the country, and either paved with hewn stone, or made of a binding sand, brought thither for that purpose. When he met with dells

or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, or laid bridges over them; so that being levelled and brought to a perfect parallel on both sides, they afforded a regular and elegant prospect through the whole. Besides, he divided all the roads into miles, of near eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other stones at proper distances on each side of the way, to assist travellers, who rode without servants, to mount their horses.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his speeches he told them, "There was one thing in particular, which he should esteem as a greater favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it, and if they denied it, he would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the consulship; and the commons expected that he would desire to be consul and tribune at the same time. When the day of election of consuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the *Campus Martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the scale on Fannius's side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius too, without the least application, or even declaring himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the second time.

Finding, however, that the senate avowed their aversion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might secure the people in his interest. Such were those for sending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The senate now apprehending that his power would soon become entirely uncontrollable, took a new and unheard of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying him in everything, however contrary to the true interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus, there was one named Livius Drusus; a man who in birth and education was not behind any of the Ro-

mans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greatest and most powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied, exhorting him to set himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him; not in the way of force, or in anything that might offend the commons, but in directing all his measures to please them, and granting them things which it would have been an honour to refuse at the hazard of their utmost resentment.

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all the power of his office to their views. He therefore proposed laws, which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His sole view was to outdo Caius in flattering and pleasing the multitude; and for this purpose he contended with him like a comedian upon a stage. Thus the senate plainly discovered, that it was not so much the measures of Caius, as the man, they were offended with, and that they were resolved to take every method to humble or destroy him. For when he procured a decree for sending out two colonies only, which were to consist of some of the most deserving citizens, they accused him of ingratiating himself by undue methods with the plebeians: but when Drusus sent out twelve, and selected three hundred of the meanest of the people for each, they patronized the whole scheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they should pay a small rent into the treasury, they inveighed against him as a flatterer of the populace; but Drusus had their praise for discharging the lands even of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended; Drusus, on the contrary, was supported by them in a law, for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, though upon service, for any misdemeanor. Meanwhile Drusus asserted, in all his speeches, that the senate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon proposing such advantageous decrees. This was the only good thing in his manœuvres; for by these arts the people became better affected to the se-

nate. Before, they had suspected and hated the leaders of that body; but Drusus appeased their resentment, and removed their aversion, by assuring them, that the patricians were the first movers of all these popular laws.

What contributed most to satisfy the people as to the sincerity of his regard, and the purity of his intentions, was, that Drusus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the least view to his own interest: for he employed others as commissioners for planting the new colonies; and if there was an affair of money, he would have no concern with it himself; whereas Caius chose to preside in the greatest and most important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonizing Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and in pursuance thereof he sailed to Africa. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain more ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people. To lay an information against Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his assistant in the distribution of the lands; at the same time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the senate. Others, beside the patricians, suspected him of raising commotions among the allies, and privately exciting the Italians to a revolt. These things, indeed, were said without evidence or proof; but Fulvius himself gave strength to the report by his unpeaceable and unsalutary conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, came in for his share of the dislike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Besides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous sickness, and (as we have observed in his life) there appeared marks of violence upon his body, most people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abused him from the *rostrum*; nor was Caius himself unsuspected. Yet so execrable a crime as this, committed against the first and greatest man in Rome, escaped with impunity; nay, it was not even inquired into; for the people prevented any

recognition of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, lest upon a strict inquiry he should be found accessory to the murder; but this happened some time before.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the re-establishment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to *Junonia*,* he was interrupted by several inauspicious omens. The staff of the first standard was broken, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and those of the ensign to hold it. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves and carried them to a great distance. Caius, however, brought everything under good regulations in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence; for Lucius Opimius,† who was of the patrician party, and very powerful in the senate, had lately been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship, through the opposition of Caius, and his support of Fannius; but now his interest was greatly strengthened, and it was thought he would be chosen the following year. It was expected too, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many beside Caius who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the senate saw them do it with pleasure.

At his return he removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount to the neighbourhood of the *forum*, in which he had a view to popularity; for many of the meanest and most indigent of the

commonalty dwelt there. After this he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the senate persuaded the consul Fannius to command all persons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote, Caius, in his turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared he would protect the allies if they would stay: he did not, however, perform his promise. On the contrary, he suffered the consul's *lictors* to take away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance; whether it was that he feared to show how much his strength was diminished, or whether (as he alleged) he did not choose to give his enemies occasion to have recourse to the sword, who only sought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reason was this: there was a show of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the *forum*, and most of the magistrates had caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius insisted that they should be taken down that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen, and demolished the scaffolds. Next day the populace saw the place quite clear of them, and of course they admired him as a man of superior spirit; but his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and measures. This seems to have been the cause of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship; for it seems he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust return. Be that as it may (for it was a matter of some doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his dis-appointment with patience; but when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them, with too much insolence, "Their

* *Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam Posthabita coluisse samo.*——

VIRGIL.

† In the printed text it is *Hostilius*, but it should be *Opimius*; for he was consul the year following with Q. Fabius Maximus, which was the year of Rome 631. Plutarch himself calls him *Opimius* a little after. *Hostilius*, therefore, must be a false reading; and, indeed, one of the manuscripts gives us *Opimius* here.

laugh was of the Sardonic* kind, for they did not perceive how much their actions were eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his establishment at Carthage, on purpose to provoke him to some act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to destroy him. He bore this treatment for some time, but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raise an opposition once more against the consul. Some say, his mother on this occasion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers; and they assert that these things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures.

When the day came, on which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves in the capitol; and after the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antyllus, one of his *lictors*, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, said to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off ye factious citizens, and make way for honest men." Some add, that along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm towards them in a form that expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately killed Antyllus with long styles, said to have been made for such a purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence: as for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partisans with having given their enemies

the handle they long had wanted. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity and excited the people to revenge: but for the present they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antyllus naked on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the *forum* to the senate house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce, but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now, when Antyllus, a vile sergeant who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself—when such a hireling lay exposed in the *forum*, the senate of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral; with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charged Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two servants well armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himself, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the *forum*, stood a long time looking upon his father's statue, and after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who saw this, were moved with compassion; and declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings, if they abandoned such a man to his enemies, repaired to his house to guard him, and passed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the

* It was not easy to see the propriety of this expression as it is used here. The Sardonic laugh was an involuntary distension of the muscles of the mouth, occasioned by a poisonous plant; and persons that died of this poison had a smile on their countenances. Hence it came to signify forced or affected laughter; but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents should be called forced or Sardonic, because they did not perceive his superiority, it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected if they did perceive it. Indeed, if every species of unreasonable laughing may be called Sardonic, it will do still.

people who attended Fulvius on the same occasion; these passed their time in noise and riot, in carousing and empty threats; Fulvius himself being the first man that was intoxicated, and giving into many expressions and actions unsuitable to his years; but those about Caius were silent, as in a time of public calamity; and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took rest by turns.

Fulvius slept so sound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themselves with the Gallic spoils which he had brought off in his consulship, upon his conquering that people; and thus accoutred they sallied out, with loud menaces, to seize the Aventine hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but went in his gown, as if he had been going upon business in the *forum*; only he had a small dagger under it.

At the gate, his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her son with the other, she thus expressed herself:—"You do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly to go to the *rostra*, in capacity of tribune or lawgiver, nor do I send you out to a glorious war, where, if the common lot fell to your share, my distress might at least have the consolation of honour. You expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed indeed, as a man should go, who had rather suffer than commit any violence; but it is throwing away your life without any advantage to the community. Faction reigns; outrage and the sword are the only measures of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored us his body; but now, perhaps, I shall have to go a suppliant to some river on the sea, to show where your remains may be found; for what confidence can we have either in the laws or in the gods after the assassination of Tiberius?"

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked on with his friends in deep silence. She caught at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time speechless; at last her servants seeing her in that condition,

took her up, and carried her to her brother Crassus.

Fulvius, when all the party were assembled, listened to the advice of Caius, and sent his younger son into the *forum* equipped like a herald.* He was a youth of most engaging appearance, and he approached with great modesty and tears in his eyes, to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the senate. Many were disposed to hearken to the proposal; but Opimius said, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come in person to make their submission to the senate, and surrender themselves to justice, before they intercede for mercy." At the same time he bade the young man return with an account that these conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of an opinion that they should go and endeavour to reconcile themselves to the senate; but as none of the rest acceded to that opinion, Fulvius sent his son again with propositions much the same. Opimius, who was in haste to begin hostilities, immediately took the young man into custody, and marched against Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adversaries much, and put them in such a confusion that they took flight. Fulvius hid himself in an old neglected bath, where he was soon found and put to the sword, together with his eldest son. Caius was not seen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expressed the greatest uneasiness at their coming to such extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There he would have despatched himself, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the most faithful of his friends, who took away his poniard, and persuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occasion he is said to have kneeled down and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the deity of that temple, "That the people of Rome, for their ingratitude and base desertion of him, might be slaves for ever." Indeed, most of them, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

* Literally, with a caduceus, or herald's wand in his hand.

The enemy pursued Caius with great eagerness, and came up with him at the wooden bridge. His two friends bidding him go forward, planted themselves before it, and suffered no man to pass till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists, but not one assisted him, or offered him a horse, though he desired it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him.* He got, however, a little before them into a grove sacred to the *furies*,† and there closed the scene; Philocrates first despatched him, and afterwards himself. Some, indeed, say, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master, that they could not come to the one till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also, that after a person, whose name is not mentioned, had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius, one of Opimius's friends,‡ took it from him; for at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike, and when put in the scales it was found to weigh seventeen pound eight ounces; for Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villainies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in the head of Fulvius, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the rest of the slain, who were no fewer than three thousand, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The

most savage cruelty was exercised upon the younger son of Fulvius, who had never borne arms against them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other instance of despotism, so sensibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple to CONCORD. For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody, therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple —

Madness and Discord rear the fane of Concord.

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thousand citizens, without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; though one of them had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph, and the other, both in virtue and reputation, was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him; at the same time he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. In a little time those commons showed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city; they consecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year; nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there as in the temples of gods.

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her sons lost their lives, "That they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes

* Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius's friends who stopped the pursuit of the enemy; Pomponius, at the *Porta Trigemina*, and Lætorius, at the *Pons Sublicius*.

† This grove was called *Lucus Furinae*, and was near the *Pons Sublicius*. The goddess had a high priest called *Flamin Furinalis*, and annual sacrifices. Verro de Ling. l. v.

‡ Pliny and Valerius Maximus say, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus's.

of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some

ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined that age and the greatness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility; but those who were of that opinion seem rather to have wanted understanding themselves, since they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to support itself against distress; and that though in the pursuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purposes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE, in bearing affliction can never lose her prerogative.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES COMPARED WITH TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

Thus we have given the history of these great men severally, and it remains that we take a view of them in comparison with each other. Those who hated the Gracchi, and endeavoured the most to disparage them, never durst deny, that of all the Romans of their time nature had disposed them most happily to virtue, or that this disposition was cultivated by the most excellent education. But nature appears to have done still more for Agis and Cleomenes; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to such manners and customs as had corrupted many before them, yet they became examples of temperance and sobriety.

Besides, the Gracchi lived at a time when Rome was in her greatest glory, a time that was distinguished by a virtuous emulation, and of course they must have had a natural aversion to give up the inheritance of virtue which they had received from their ancestors. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes had had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a very diseased and unhappy state; and yet these things did not in the least abate their ardour in the pursuits of honour.

We have a strong proof of the disinterested views of the Gracchi, and their aversion to avarice, in their keeping themselves clear of all iniquitous practices in the whole course of their administration. But Agis might even have resented it, if any one had commended him for not touching the pro-

perty of others, since he distributed his whole substance among the citizens of Sparta, which, beside other considerable articles, consisted of six hundred talents in money. What a crime then must unjust gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing less than avarice to possess more than others, though by the fairest title?

If we consider them with respect to the hardness of their enterprises, and the new regulations they wanted to establish, we shall find the two Grecians greatly superior. One of the two Romans applied himself principally to making roads and colonizing towns. The boldest attempt of Tiberius was the distribution of the public lands; and Caius did nothing more extraordinary than the joining an equal number of the equestrian order in commission with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations which Agis and Cleomenes brought into the system of their commonwealth were of a different nature. They saw that a small and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expresses it, than the cutting off one of the Hydra's heads;* and therefore they introduced a change that might remove all the distempers of the constitution at once. Perhaps we may express ourselves with more propriety if we say, that, by removing the changes that had caused all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to its first principles.

* In the fourth book of the commonwealth.

Possibly it may not be amiss to add, that the measures the Gracchi adopted were offensive to the greatest men in Rome;* whereas, all that Agis meditated, and Cleomenes brought to bear, had the best and most respectable authorities to support it, I mean the sanction either of Lycurgus or Apollo.

What is still more considerable, by the political measures of the Gracchi, Rome made not the least acquisition of power or territory; whereas, through those of Cleomenes, Greece saw the Spartans in a little time become masters of Peloponnesus, and contending for superiority with the most powerful princes of that age; and this without any other view than to deliver Greece from the incursions of the Illyrians and Gauls, and put her once more under protection of the race of Hercules.

The different manner of the deaths of these great men appears also to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and being defeated, perished in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almost a voluntary sacrifice, rather than that any Spartan should lose his life on his account. Cleomenes, when insulted and oppressed, had recourse to vengeance; and, as circumstances did not favour him, had courage enough to give himself the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never distinguished himself as a general, for he was killed before he had any opportunity of that kind; and with the many great and glorious victories of Cleomenes we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius, in being the first to scale the walls of Carthage, and his saving twenty thousand Romans, who had no other hope of life, by the peace which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many instances of his military talents both in the Numantian war and in Sardinia.

* Plutarch seems to censure the Agrarian law as an irrational one, and as the invention of the Gracchi. But, in fact, there was an Agrarian law among the institutions of Lycurgus; and the Gracchi were not the first promoters of such a law among the Romans. Spurius Cassius offered a bill of the same kind above two hundred years before, which proved equally fatal to him.

So that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greatest generals among the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

As to their political abilities, Agis seems to have wanted firmness and despatch. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Agesilaus, and performed not his promise to the citizens of making a distribution of lands. He was, indeed, extremely young; and, on that account, had a timidity which prevented the completion of those schemes that had so much raised the expectation of the public. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and too violent a method to effectuate the changes he had resolved on in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injustice to put the *ephori* to death, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, because he was superior in arms, or else have banished, as he did many others; for, to have recourse to the knife, except in cases of extreme necessity, indicates neither the good physician, nor the able statesman, but unskillfulness in both. Besides, in politics, that ignorance is always attended with injustice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force; and, though none behaved with greater courage and vigour than he in other wars, none was so slow to lift up his hand against a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a scene of fury and sedition; when the fight began, he retired; and, through the whole, appeared more solicitous to avoid the doing of harm than the receiving it. The flight, therefore, of the Gracchi must not be considered as an act of cowardice, but patriotic discretion; for they were under a necessity either of taking the method they did, or of fighting in their own defence if they staid.

The strongest charge against Tiberius is, that he deposed his colleague, and sued for a second tribuneship. Caius was blamed for the death of Antyllus; but against all reason and justice; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and he looked upon it as a most unhappy circumstance. On the other hand, Cleomenes

not to mention any more, his destroying the *ephori*, took an unconstitutional step in enfranchising all the slaves; and in reality he reigned alone, though, to save appearances, he took in his brother Euclidas as a partner in the throne, who was not of the other family that claimed a right to give one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right to the throne, he persuaded to return from Messene. In consequence of this he was assassinated; and as Cleomenes made no inquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was justly censured as the cause of it. Whereas Lycurgus, whom he pretended to take as his pattern, freely surrendered to his nephew Charilaus, the kingdom committed to his charge; and that he might not be blamed in case of his untimely death, he went abroad and wandered a long time in foreign countries; nor did he return till Charilaus had a son to succeed him in the throne. It is true, Greece had not produced any other man who can be compared to Lycurgus.

We have shown that Cleomenes in the course of his government, brought in greater innovations, and committed more violent acts of injustice; and those who are inclined to censure the

persons of whom we are writing, represent Cleomenes as, from the first, of a tyrannical disposition, and a lover of war. The Gracchi they accuse of immoderate ambition, malignity itself not being able to find any other flaw in them. At the same time they acknowledged that those tribunes, might possibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native disposition by anger, and the heat of contention, which, like so many hurricanes, drove them at last upon some extremes in their administration. What could be more just or meritorious than their first design, to which they would have adhered, had not the rich and great, by the violent methods they took to abrogate their law, involved them both in those fatal quarrels! the one to defend himself, and the other to revenge his brother, who was taken off without any form of law and justice.

From these observations, you may easily perceive the difference between them; and, if you required me to characterize each of them singly, I should say that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius; young Agis had the fewest faults; and Caius, in point of courage and spirit of enterprise, was little inferior to Cleomenes.



DEMOSTHENES.

WHETHER it was, my Sosius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games : whether Euripides (which is the common opinion,) or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either in size or beauty : for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great and Ægina, which an Athenian, "wanted to have taken away, as an eyesore to the Pyreus," should give birth to good poets and players,* and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline ; therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos ; and Philus the actor was of Ægina.

short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to any author, who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature ; there he will meet with many curious and valuable books, and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who laid them up in the faithful repository of memory : this will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to me to be instructed in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange, and yet it is very true : I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words

as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that to attain such a skill in the language, as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment; but the practice and pains it requires, are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallels, we intend to give the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and from their actions and political conduct we shall collect and compare their manners and dispositions; but for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker; for as Ion says,

What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,

And bounds upon the shore?

Cæcilius,* a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But, perhaps, the precept *Know thyself*; would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes; for I think it is impossible to find two other orators who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power, who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and to dispute

about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dispositions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he was called the *sword-cutter*, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother,† that she was the daughter of one Gylon,‡ who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected; nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame, and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed from the first, he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus*§ for his natural defects. Some say, Batalus was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others that he was a poet whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious.

† In his oration against Ctesiphon.

‡ Gylon was accused of betraying to the enemy a town in Pontus called Nymphæum; upon which he fled into Scythia, where he married a native of the country, and had two daughters by her; one of whom was married to Philocares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demosthenes. Her fortune was fifty *mina*; and of this marriage came Demosthenes the orator.

§ Hesychius gives a different explanation of the word *Batalus*; but Plutarch must be allowed, though Dacier will not here allow him, to understand the sense of the Greek word as well as Hesychius.

* Cæcilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Augustus. He wrote a treatise on the sublime, which is mentioned by Longinus.

ous kind. The Athenians, too, at that time, seem to have called a part of the body *Batalus*, which decency forbids us to name. We are told that Demosthenes had likewise the name of *Argas*, on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour; for there is a sort of a serpent which some of the poets call *Argas*;^{*} or else for the severity of his expressions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whose verses were very keen and satirical; but enough of this article.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus[†] had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes hearing the governors and tutors agreeing among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day num-

bered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten *minæ*,[‡] which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus, as more fit for public use.

Hermippus says he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato,[§] and received great assistance from him in preparing to speak in public. He adds, that Ctesibius used to say, that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan, and some others, with the systems of rhetoric taught by Isocrates and Alcimadus, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicanery and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar.|| It was not without much pains and some risk that he gained his cause: and at last it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means,

‡ This could not be the reason, if what is recorded in the life of Isæus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demosthenes at the price of a hundred *minæ*.

§ This is confirmed by Cicero in his *Brutus*. *Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur: Idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum*. Again, in his book *de Oratore*: *Quod idem de Demosthene existimari potest, cujus ex epistolis intelligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor*. It is possible that Cicero in this place alludes to that letter of Demosthenes addressed to Heracliodoras, in which he thus speaks of Plato's philosophy. "Since you have espoused the doctrine of Plato, which is so distant from avarice, from artifice, and violence; a doctrine whose object is the perfection of goodness and justice! Immortal gods! when once a man has adopted this doctrine, is it possible he should deviate from truth, or entertain one selfish or ungenerous sentiment?"

|| He lost his father at the age of seven, and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He therefore began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

* Hippocrates too mentions a serpent of that name.

† Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their distress by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former services, and took Oropus from them. Chabrias was suspected of treachery, and Callistratus, the orator, was retained to plead against it. Demosthenes mentions this in his oration against Phidias. At the time of this trial he was about sixteen.

however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he gained such excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course: so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods and a distortion of argument. Besides, he had a weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him, Demosthenes lamented to him, "That, though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and

terred persons were heard, and kept the rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded.*" "You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity of action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this, he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods,† meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak anything extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the

* This was the privilege of all democratic states. Some think, that by seamen he means Demades, whose profession was that of a mariner.

† Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. These arguments he calls *Thesis politica*.

assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious of the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing." He farther affirmed, "That this showed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the rostrum was a mark of respect to the people. Whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address, showed his inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is, that when he happened to be put in disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extempore address, but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantine,* whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhinean†

* This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Platea was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Bœotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Chæronea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Bœotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was so elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almost the same terms that Plutarch has used here.

† If we suppose this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text should be altered from *Myrrhinean* to *Myrrhinusian*; for *Myrrhinus* was a borough of Attica. But

pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander, and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalsidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears, that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says, that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tells us, that, in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse,

By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods.

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopopererethras*,‡ and another ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says, "As he took, so he retook." For Demosthenes affected to use that expression. Possibly, Antiphanes played upon that passage in the oration concerning the isle of Halonesus, in which Demosthenes advised the Athen-

there was a town called Myrrhine in Æolia, and another in Lemnos, and probably Lamachus was of one of these.

‡ *A haberdasher of small wares, or something like it.*

ians "not to take, but to retake it from Philip."*

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators when he trusted to nature only; and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Aristo of Chios, gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophrastus concerning these orators. Being asked in what light he looked upon Demosthenes as an orator, he said, "I think him worthy of Athens:" what of Demades, "I think him above it." The same philosopher relates of Polyectus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons in the Athenian administration at that time, that he called "Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most powerful speaker;" because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words. To the same purpose, we are told, that Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion got up to oppose him, used to say to his friends, "Here comes the pruning-hook of my periods." It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demosthenes referred to Phocion's manner of speaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the case, because he knew that a word or a nod from a man of superior character is more regarded than the long discourses of another.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim and adjust all his motions.

It is said, that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you,

indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleased the commonality much; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æsion being asked his opinion of the ancient orators and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition and greater force." It is needless to mention, that, in his written orations, there was something extremely cutting and severe; but, in his sudden repartees, there was also something of humour.† When Demades said, "Demosthenes to me! a sow to Minerva;" our orator made answer, "This Minerva was found the other day playing the whore in Colyttus." When a rascal, surnamed *Chalchus*,‡ attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my lamp offends thee; but you need not wonder, my countrymen, that we have so many robberies, when we have thieves of brass, and walls only of clay." Though more of his sayings might be produced, we shall pass them over, and go on to seek the rest of his manners and character in his actions and political conduct.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war;§ and the same may be collected from his philippics: for some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished, and the former

† Longinus will not allow him the least excellence in matters of humour or pleasantry. Cap. xxviii.

‡ That is *Brass*.

* There is an expression something like what Plutarch has quoted about the beginning of that oration. Libanius suspects the whole of that oration to be spurious; but this railery of the poet on Demosthenes, seems to prove that it was of his hand.

§ In the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, five hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Demosthenes was then in his twenty-seventh year.

relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two and thirty years old, when he was preparing his oration against Midias; and yet, at that time, he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For

—no prayer, no moving art
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart. POPE.

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides, as Midias, by wealth and friends; and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand *drachmas* could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke: he was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased either with the same persons or things; for, on the contrary, it appears, that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted; and was so far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his public character, used to say, "I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but not anything contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then said, by way of apology, to the people, "It is true, the man is my enemy, but the public good is an overruling consider-

ation." And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said, "He did not contradict himself, for it was always the best way to listen to the strongest." But we have nothing of that kind to allege against Demosthenes; he was never a timeserver either in his words or actions. The key of politics, which he first touched, he kept to without variation.

Panætius, the philosopher, asserts, that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, *of the crown*, that *against Aristocrates*, that *for the immunities*, and the *Philippics*. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that, if, beside that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blest with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clear of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyæctus and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government, after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem, I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians; yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expresses it) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the bold-

est truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us, that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor, whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho, was of the aristocratic cast.* The people had acquitted him in the general assembly; and yet he carried him before the *areopagus*; where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanours; and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus, which was a just exception against his character; for he composed the oration which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others, before he had any concern in the administration himself, namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogiton, and that for the *immunities*, he delivered himself, at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is un-

* See his oration de *Corona*.

certain, whether that against Æschines, *for betraying his trust as ambassador*,† was ever spoken; though Idomeneus affirms, that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*; for neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold of every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens; and when he went, with nine other deputies, to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praise of Philip on all occasions; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards it appeared, that nothing was to be expected but war; for, on the one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was, to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly

† In this oration, Demosthenes accused Æschines of many capital crimes committed in the embassy on which he was sent to oblige Philip to swear to the articles of peace. Both that oration, and the answer of Æschines, are still extant.

he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzanthians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this, he went ambassador to the states of Greece; and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Beside the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us, that, when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements; and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyreans, had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian war, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from him; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the *rostrum*: no one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed, that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh

hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip, too, on his part, as Marryas informs us, sent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Thessalian, and Thrasidæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed, but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually, that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace. Greece recovered her spirits, whilst she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes, as those of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then much repeated:—

Far from Thermodon's banks, when, stain'd
with blood,
Bœotia trembles o'er the crimson flood,
On eagle pinions let me pierce the sky,
And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

This Thermodon, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæroneia, which falls into the Cephissus. At present we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæ-

mon which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the slain, it might, on that account, change its appellation. Duris, indeed, says, that Thermodon was not a river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a small statue, with an inscription, which signified, that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the subject, much taken notice of at that time :—

— Fell bird of prey,
Wait thou the plenteous harvest which the
sword
Will give thee on Thermodon.

But it is hard to say what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of *Philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle, he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner; and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to bely the inscription, which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and heating time to it—*Demosthenes the Pæanean, son of Demosthenes, has decreed*. But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately

been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day.*

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece, because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis; and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner as Theopompus, in a tragical strain, represents it; that, by the great honour they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip: for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea; and his fate seemed to be presignified

* Demades the orator contributed to bring him to the right use of his reason, when he told him with such distinguished magnanimity, "That fortune had placed him in the character of Agamemnon, but that he chose to play the part of Thersites."

in the last of the verses above quoted :—

And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die !

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip ; and, in order to prepossess the people with hopes of some good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced something great for Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown for Pausanias, who killed him. Demosthenes, on this occasion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation.

At the same time I do not pretend to say the Athenians were right in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing, upon the death of a prince who had behaved to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes ; for it was a meanness, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen ; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead, and sing triumphal songs, as if they had performed some extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demosthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country ; for I think a man of such firmness and other abilities as a statesman ought to have, should always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as considerations much inferior to the public. In consequence of which, he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity than actors who personate

kings and tyrants ; and yet these, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects ; in the same manner as we desire those who have weak eyes to turn them from bright and dazzling colours to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success ; so that, by such a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good ? These reflections we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of Æschines has weakened the minds of many persons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of sorrow.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers ; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the *rostrum* almost every day ; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a second *Margites*.*

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans, and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves ; in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion ; and they could think of no better measure, than the sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Ci

* Homer wrote a satire against this Margites, who appears to have been a very contemptible character.

thæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators; but the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians, say, that he demanded only these eight, Demosthenes, Polyæuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves before they would grant them peace; by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people as the dogs were of the flock, and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again: "As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat; so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents. Whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased, and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little, when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field; but it soon fell again, for the Athenians refused to join him, Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time,* the affair concerning the crown came again upon the

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense; for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes,

carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chærondas; and the cause was not determined till ten years after,† under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators as the generous behaviour of the judges; for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him; but, on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably, that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages.‡ Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens.§ He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the work-

which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

† Plutarch must have been mistaken here. It does not appear upon the exactest calculation to have been more than eight years.

‡ This was a very ignominious circumstance; for if the accuser had not a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmas.

§ Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon; and, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave into all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5,000 talents and 6,000 men into Attica.

manship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum; for Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation; it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by said, "It was no common hoarseness that he had got in the night; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprized of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?"* The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off; and, fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles, the son of Arenides; whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order, that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were con-

victed. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others. It is said, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following,† and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name; and when they came near, desired him to take some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him they had no other design in following, and exhorted him to take courage; but Demosthenes gave into more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in this city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part he resided in Ægina or Trœzene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions there was nothing of a rational firmness, nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and said, "O Minerva, goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction, he advised, by no means, to meddle with affairs of state. He told them, "That, if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the *rostrum* and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction, and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and contention, he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demosthenes,

* This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts; wherein it was usual for the cup to pass from hand to hand, and the person who held it sung a song, to which the rest gave attention.

† It is recorded by Phocius, that Æschines, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and assisted by Demosthenes; and that, when he offered him consolations, he made the same answer. Plutarch likewise mentions this circumstance in the lives of the ten orators.

Alexander died.* The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought, so the city, which an Athenian embassy ever enters, must necessarily be in a sick and decayed condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "An ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recall of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Pæanean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of the citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

The fine, however, still remained due, for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal their sentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They, therefore, appointed Demosthenes to this charge, and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August,† a Macedonian garrison entered Mynchia in September,‡ and Demosthenes lost his life in October.§

It happened in the following manner:—When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed *Phugadothoras*, or *the exile hunter*, was their captain. It is said he was a native of Thurium, and had been some time a tragedian; they add, that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his scholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the rhetorician; and Demetrius says he spent some time at the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were executed; and Hyperides is said to have first had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row boats. As soon as he was landed he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and

* Olymp. cxiv. Demosthenes was then in his fifty-second year.

† Metagitnion.
§ Pyaneasion.

‡ Boëdromion.

go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action; had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said, "Before, you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple, and, taking some paper as if he intended to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition; after which, he covered his head, and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon* in the play as soon as you please, and cast out this carcass of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple with my breath within me; but Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him; but in attempting to walk out he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says, he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One

* Alluding to that passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polynices to be buried.

Poppus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter "Demosthenes to Antipater," and no thing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes, said, he had long wore that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the *Thesmophoria*.† The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue:—

Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been
thine,
Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign
borne,
And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn!

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison.‡

† This was an annual festival in honour of Ceres. It began the fourteenth of October, and ended the eighteenth. The third day of the festival was a day of fasting and mortification; and this was the day that Plutarch speaks of.

‡ This inscription, so far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace

A little before I visited Athens, the following adventure is said to have happened. A soldier being summoned to appear before the commanding officer upon some misdemeanour, put the little gold he had in the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, which were in some measure clenched. A small plane-tree grew by it, and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purposely so placed by the soldier, covered the gold a considerable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was spread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens strove which could write the best copy of verses to vindicate Demosthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long entertain the Athenians could have fastened upon his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness, which, when the safety of his country was at stake, was such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could atone for.

joy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes, led him into Macedonia, where he justly perished by the hands of those whom he had basely flattered. They had hated him for some time; but at last they caught him in a fact which could neither be excused nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he said, "hung only by an old rotten stalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked, that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortunes, he learned that *traitors always first sell themselves*; a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Sossius, is the life of Demosthenes, which we have compiled in the best manner we could, from books and from tradition.



CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble,* and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes. For some affirm that he was the son of a fuller,† and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus,‡ a prince who governed the Volsci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname.§ As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on

his first application to business, and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name. But he answered with great spirit, "That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the Catuli." When *quæstor* in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the 3rd of January,|| the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold, that the child she had the happiness to attend would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation

* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us, that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero, in his books *de Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property, and of a liberal education.

‡ The same prince to whom Coriolanus retired four hundred years before.

§ Pliny's account of the origin of this name is very probable. He supposes that the persons who first bore it were remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piso, had their names from beans, tares, and pease.

|| In the six hundred and forty-seventh year of Rome: a hundred and four years before the Christian era. Pompey was born in the same year.

among the boys that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilized were angry with their sons when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato* would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both the capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised; yet he was most inclined to poetry; and there is still extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*,† which was written by him when a boy, in *tetrameter* verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with great application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected.‡

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom of all the scholars of Clitomachus, the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste of military knowledge under Sylla, in the

Marsian war.§ But, afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed; when it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of two thousand *drachmæ*. Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but to fall a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gained great applause;|| but fearing Sylla's resentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was at the same time harsh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking, he always rose into a loud key there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he did not ap-

* Plato's Commonwealth, lib. v.

† This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who, after eating a certain herb, jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

‡ Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his speaking with so much favour of Cicero's contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a strong proof of it. He translated Aratus into verse at the age of seventeen, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of Marius, which Scævola said would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead; and the poem which he wrote in three books on his own consulship, has shared the same fate.

§ In the eighteenth year of his age.

|| In his twenty-seventh year.

prove his new doctrines in philosophy; for Antiochus had left the *new academy*, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics; but Cicero loved the *new academy*, and entered more and more into its opinions; having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the *forum* and all political intrigues, to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

But not long after, he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs; for which reason he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo,* and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said, that Apollonius, not understanding the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which should praise him most; but Apollonius showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking; and when he had done, he sat a long time

thoughtful and silent; at last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome."

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success; but his spirit received a check from the oracle of Delphi: for upon his inquiring by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess bade him "follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life." Hence it was, that after his coming to Rome, he acted at first with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected and called a *Greek*, a *scholastic*; terms which the artisans, and others the meanest of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But as he was naturally ambitious of honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronunciation. But as for those orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, "Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horse-back." His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the *forum*; but by bringing it much into life, he offended

* Not Apollonius the son of Molo, but Apollonius Molo. The same mistake is made by our author in the life of Cæsar.

numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed *quæstor* at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome; but afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any *quæstor* that Rome had ever sent them. About that time, a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us* he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they said and thought of his actions in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely, for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics knew the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with

the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar: this was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prætor* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day;† and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up his witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself,‡ Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered "Why do you not first reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine,

† Not till the *last day*. Cicero brought it on a few days before Verres's friends were come into office; but of the seven orations which were composed on the occasion, the two first only were delivered. A. U. 683.

‡ Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

* In his oration to Plancius.

and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this case Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles, Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a *sphinx* in your house.

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand *drachmæ*; upon which, it was said by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low.* The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him when he was ædile, a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife, Terentia brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thousand *denarii*, and he fell heir to something that amounted to ninety thousand more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans around him. He rarely took his meal before sunset, not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too

far to go; for he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army; though they were the most followed and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the forum; but Crassus met him in his court yard, and told him that all the judges had given verdict against him; which affected him in such a manner that he turned in again, took to his bed and died.† Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrofulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other; and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with

† The story is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He says that Macer was in court waiting the issue, and, perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give sentence against him, he sent to inform him that he was dead, and at the same time suffocated himself with a handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce sentence against him, by which means his estate was saved to his son Licinius Calvus. Notwithstanding this, Cicero himself, in one of his epistles to Atticus, says that he actually condemned him; and in another of his epistles he speaks of the popular esteem this affair procured him. Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. i. c. 3, 4.

* This fine, indeed, was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of 322,916*l.* against Verres; the fine must therefore have been 645,832*l.* but 750,000 *drachmæ* was no more than 24,218*l.* Plutarch must, therefore, most probably have been mistaken.

his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said, "I could easily swallow such a thing if I was prætor;" upon which, Cicero turned towards him, and made answer, "But I have not so large a neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect:—"As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that; for to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate, was not the method for those who were inclined to serve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people; they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof, he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the constitution at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without

the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Beside a variety of other crimes, he was accused of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and eat of his flesh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for a revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome too for a change. Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people; in this tottering state of the commonwealth there needed no great force to overset it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague; a man who had no firm principles, either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero* and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the

* In his forty-third year.

equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government, for they wanted to appoint decemvirs, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies; to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers.* They took another opportunity, however, and

* This was the first of his three orations *de Lege Agraria*.

coming prepared, insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill; and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was, indeed, the man who most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible when properly supported. He showed, also, that a magistrate who watches for the good of the community should in his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho, in his prætorship, was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy.† The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre in the utmost disorder. Cicero being informed of the disturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Cati-

† About four years before, under the consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor; he was tribune.

line's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election, for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness, "As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head, the other strong and robust, but is without a head, what harm am I doing if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people; consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he threw back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio,

went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero; for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring at the same time that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issues, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcus and Cethegus to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying him compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a wo-

man of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence; but there was not a senator who would sit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city; "for," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed *Sura*, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time; for that was a customary qualification when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate.* As to the surname of *Sura*, it is said to have been given him on this occasion:—When he was quæstor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Lentulus came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I

have no account to give, out, I present you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them as from the books of the Sibyls. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That three of the Corneliæ would be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could; to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize and keep as pledges of his peace with that general: for by this time it was strongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *Saturnalia*, for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two em-

* When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat. DION. l. xxxvii.

bassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors they sent one Titus of Crotona to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance.* Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say, that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furnished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of immunity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then prætor): he put off his purple robe in the house,

and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess, whom the Romans call *Bona*, or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynecea*. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house, by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well by reason of the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connexions in Rome. On the other side, it he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with any thing less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villanies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them, "Boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country because the goddess, by the brightness

* These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation they thought it safest to abide by the state, and discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise." Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics than she permitted him to have in domestic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he had made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators; and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert, that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest; for, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared, "Not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered."* To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight; for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions,

* Plutarch seems here to intimate, that after the defeat of Catiline, they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Sallust that Cæsar had no such intention.

first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence, insomuch, that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for he said, it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the *forum*. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the *forum*, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his return he saw others who were in the conspiracy standing thick in the *forum*. As these knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They did live*. The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the *forum* to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the saviour and second founder of Rome*. The streets were illuminated * with a multitude of lamps, and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold, and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, for power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was, that he could suppress the greatest conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult. For many who had joined Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus; and that traitor giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed, with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year; Cæsar, who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia tribunes.† These last entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him per-

mission to take the oath upon laying down his office,‡ after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light, that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country*; a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it.§

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the readers; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their

* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries; and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

† Bestia went out of office on the eighth of December. Metellus and Sextius were tribunes.

‡ The consuls took two oaths; one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws; and the other, on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

§ Q. Caius was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

share; for he was entirely free from envy; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said, "That he was a river of flowing gold;" and of Plato's dialogues, "That if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes's orations he thought the best, he answered, "The longest." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's saying in one of his epistles, "That Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations;" but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not consider that he gave the title of *Philippics* to his orations against Mark Antony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his cotemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic, the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus to make out an order, for desiring him to remain at Athens, to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus; but he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover anything of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the dissolute man he passed for; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into

many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause, and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court." He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum*, and a few days after publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?" "True;" answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above three score years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I be thinking of when I asserted such a thing?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the stoics, "The good man is always rich."* "I imagine," said Cicero, "There is another more agreeable to you, *All things belong to the prudent*;" for Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *axios Crassou*.† When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero ac

* *παντα ειναι τῷ σοφῷ*. The Greek *σοφός* signifies cunning, shrewd, prudent, as well as wise; and in any of the former acceptations the stoic maxim was applicable to Crassus. Thus *frugi*, in Latin, is used indifferently, either for saving prudence, or for sober wisdom.

† An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

cepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends and desired a reconciliation. "What!" said Cicero, "does Vatinius too want to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrofulous tumours in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live." "Let us wait awhile, then," said Cicero; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius who had it objected to him, that he was an African. One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is somewhat strange," said Cicero, "for you are not without a hole in your ear."* When Metellus Nepos told him, "That he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate." "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cause of some importance; and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the best use of your time to day, for to-morrow you will be out of office."† Publius Cotta, who

* A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

† Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and therefore Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself

affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called as a witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question;" for his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument.‡ "This," said Cicero was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak.§ Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you?"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting railery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: he used to call Marcus Aquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile.|| Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as

‡ It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monument of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

§ Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

|| Because *Adrastus* had married his daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to an account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out:

On this conception Phœbus never smiled.*

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public criers in his family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms; which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. The occasion was this: Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar; this induced him to get privately into the house, which he did in the habit of a female musician. The women were offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked his name; being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and, searching the whole house, found Clodius sculking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety.

Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted, in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country; but Cicero attested that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, a matter of fact; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia; for she was persuaded, that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband; and that she managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and having an ascendant over her husband, she put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid servants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngest of the sisters; and it was generally believed that he had connexions of the same kind with his other sisters, one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, because one of her lovers palmed upon her a purse of small brass money instead of silver; the smallest brass coin being called a *quadrans*. It was on this sister's account that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets.† He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was

* A verse of Sophocles, speaking of Laius the father of Oedipus.

† See the note on the parallel passage in the life of Cæsar.

said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You were right in desiring a guard for your defence, for you were afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero, that the judges did not give credit to his deposition: "Yes," said he, "five and twenty of them believed me, for so many condemned you; nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon he gave no testimony against Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it."

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He registered many mean and indigent persons citizens; and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Cæsar granted it.* Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely,† that he gave

up the lieutenantancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him everywhere in the streets, with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thousand young men, of the best families, attended him, with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards the senate met, with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning; but, as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration; but being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connexion, and went always expressed an indifference to the lieutenantancy that was offered to him by Cæsar. Ep. ad Att. l. ii. c. 18.

* Cicero says that this lieutenantancy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar's. Ep. ad Att.

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius. He had

out at a back door to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: **TO MINERVA THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME.** About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admission into any house within five hundred miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but, at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius,* the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of in-

gratitude, he repaired to Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him, and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit, which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connexion and commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in everything extrinsic as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas, and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means, he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflection, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate

Some copies have it *Virgilius*.

decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased; some of the tribunes were wounded in the *forum*; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the *forum*, and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile; and that his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge.*

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero, taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent,† went up with a great company to the capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That

his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion. Not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative, for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among which were his own commission and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero did not come to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials, and to provide both for the peace of the city and the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the *forum* before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*, and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled and the court filled; for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling, even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius Murena,‡ against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for which reason he sat up all night to prepare himself. But that watching and application hurt him so much that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistening all around the *forum*, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration; for he shook, and his tongue faltered, though Milo

* The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near 11,000*l.*; for his Tuscan villa near 3,000*l.*; and for his Formian villa about half that sum, which Cicero called a very scanty estimate.

† Cicero had attempted this once before when Clodius was present; but Caius, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

‡ Murena had retained three advocates, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and Cicero.

attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him, and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes, which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms; and finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent;* never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled, and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied, if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had also a taste of war, for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted by his army *Im-*

perator on that account.† *Cæcilius*, the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. He said, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while every thing else was at peace, were fled into Caria."

In his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and everything tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said, "He had rather follow Cæsar's chariot wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety: for, he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn?—Pompey has the more honourable cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, sig-

† He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His services, therefore, must have been considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly.

‡ Not *Cæcilius*, but *Cælius*. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows.

* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off one half of their beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away." 2 Sam. x. 4.

nified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connexion with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily, "That he would do nothing unworthy of his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching for Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had stayed at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events; whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger in which you had nothing to do."

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion; especially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself; for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey's preparations; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war to the rank of captain, and assigned for his reason, that he was an honest and prudent man; "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him for governor to your children?" When some were commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian director!" When Cæsar was successful in

almost every instance, and held Pompey as it were besieged, Lentulus said, "He was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour." "You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius newly arrived from Italy, told them, a report prevailed at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to see it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said, there was room yet for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp. Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last: "By this oracular generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present, on account of his ill health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and stayed there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to Brundisium, he set out to meet him; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say anything beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him; after which he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect insomuch, that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the

name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero; and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak; since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them, he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and, to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said, that he first, or principally, at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia* [imagination], *syncatathesis* [assent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepsis* [comprehension], *atomis* [atom], *ameres* [indivisible], *kenon* [void], and many other such terms in science; contriving either by metaphorical expression, or strict translation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verses in one night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, "That he led the life of Laertes;" either by way of railery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious de-

sire of public employment, and discontent in his present situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, "That by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues, he had established his own."

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned were, that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessities. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundisium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his account, his house was become naked and empty through the many debts which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these charges; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia said he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippians, taxes him with "Repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old;"

* Cicero was then sixty-two.

and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piso, had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him: for his loss affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion; and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect: for the people were inclined to pity on this event; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the forum, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood, and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage. They sought all over the forum for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger; but as they saw others, no less considerable, impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power; but Cicero had particular reason to dread him; for being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration

was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them; and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place, without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news), that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate; and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-

five million drachmas,* which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people; and Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford; for the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure; for while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple and the boys in their prætextæ sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed; but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from their exercises; and the first who struck his eye was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and by will left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with

particular regard: and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was consul.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connexion. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony; and the next his natural avidity of glory; for he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, "That, as through fear of Antony he paid his court to young Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired, insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle, and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the fasces, with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both; promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for anything but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions

* Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from Paterculus and others, that it was seven times as much.

of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly, Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time, and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself and given up the liberties of his country; for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero;* and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed about two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero; for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary, but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The places where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each side were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus, and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea; where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in

Macedonia; for it was reported, that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins, who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero he was carried to Astyra; where finding a vessel, he immediately went on board and coasted along to Ciræum with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence, but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts; insomuch that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer; but he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last, he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta,† where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in.‡ There was a temple of Apollo on that coast, from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land

* Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

† According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus says, the scene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

‡ The north-east winds.

They perched on both sides the sail-yards, where some sat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes; all looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the meantime a number of the crows settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful manner; one of them even entered in, and alighting on the bed, attempted with its beak to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves, "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then partly by entreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open; still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the seaside. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him,

while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the *philippics*. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end to all proscriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the *rostra*, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe, which Cæsar perceived and took it from him; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague; under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that for the future, none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

THESE are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking; yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed in energy and strength the most celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were eminent for the sublimity of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general; and, in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the academy; and we see something of an ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the *forum* and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious. Nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge in his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things, to serve his client he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Cælius, he says, "Where is the absurdity, if a man, with an affluent fortune at command, shall indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power; particularly when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure?"*

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise

* Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the excesses of youth; but does not defend or approve the pursuit of pleasure.

a laugh in the assembly, and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose illnatured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed, he never gives into it at all but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasions is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out:—

Let arms reverse the robe, the warrior's laurel
Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced as those he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people.

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence, but it is mean and illiberal to rest in such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said, "His ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition; and not so perfect but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience." He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind, that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities, as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree that men, who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and

Leosthenes availed themselves of Demosthenes; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero; as Cæsar himself acknowledges in his commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenæas.

It is an observation no less just than common, that nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition as power and authority; for they awaken every passion, and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind; he never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead those armies against Philip, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia; at a time, too when avarice reigned without control; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet, at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices. On which occasion he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person."

It is mentioned, to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add, that he was suspected of receiving money from the king of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him (and they are not a few); yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconsul: and his friends pressed him to re-

ceive their benefactions, when in exile yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him; for he was convicted of taking bribes: that of Cicero, great honour; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret; for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with "having reared a greater and more insupportable tyranny than that which they had destroyed."

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding and slaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did discover some fear, by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless, to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it. So that when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.



DEMETRIUS.

THOSE who first thought that the arts might be compared to the senses, in the perception of their respective objects, appear to me to have well understood the power by which that perception was to be formed, the power of distinguishing contrary qualities; for this they have in common. But in the mode of distinguishing, as well as in the end of what is distinguished, they evidently differ. The senses, for instance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one; what is sweet more than what is bitter; or what is soft and yielding more than what is hard and solid. Their office is to receive impressions from such objects as strike upon them, and to convey those impressions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more rational; they are not, like the senses, passive in their perceptions; they choose or reject what is proper or improper; what is good they attend to primarily and intentionally, and what is evil, only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus, the art of medicine considers the nature of diseases; and music that of discordant sounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the most excellent of all arts, temperance, justice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, just, and useful, but also of what is pernicious, disgraceful and unjust.

These arts bestow no praise on that innocence which boasts of an entire ignorance of vice; in their reckoning, it is rather an absurd simplicity to be ignorant of those things, which every man that is disposed to live virtuously should make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the ancient Spartans, at their feasts, used to compel the helots to drink an excessive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to show the young men what drunkenness was.

We do not, indeed, think it agreeable, either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt some of the species in order not to corrupt others. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiss to insert among the rest of the lives, a few examples of those who have abused their power to the purposes of licentiousness, and whose elevation has only made their vices greater and more conspicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleasure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the same motive with Ismenias the Theban musician, who presented his scholars both with good and bad performers on the flute; and used to say, "Thus you must play," and "Thus you must not play." And Antigenidas observed, "That young men would hear able performers with much greater pleasure, after they had heard bad ones." In

like manner, according to my opinion, we shall behold and imitate the virtuous with greater attention, if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and infamous.

In this book, therefore, we shall give the lives of Demetrius, surnamed *Poliorectes*, and of Antony the *triumvir*: men who have most remarkably verified that observation of Plato, "That great parts produce great vices, as well as virtues." They were equally addicted to wine and women; both excellent soldiers, and persons of great munificence; but, at the same time, prodigal and insolent. There was the same resemblance in their fortune: for, in the course of their lives, they met both with great success, and great disappointments; now, extending their conquests with the utmost rapidity, and now losing all; now falling beyond all expectation; and now recovering themselves when there was as little prospect of such a change. This similarity there was in their lives; and in the concluding scene there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies, and died in captivity, and the other was near sharing the same fate.

Antigonus having two sons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corraeus, called the one after his brother, Demetrius, and the other after his father, Philip. So most historians say. But some affirm that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying and leaving him an infant, and his mother soon after marrying Antigonus, he was, on that account, considered as his son. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in size to his father Antigonus. But his beauty and mien were so inimitable, that no statuary or painter could hit off a likeness. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity; and was at once amiable and awful; and the unsubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majesty of the hero and the king. There was the same happy mixture in his behaviour, which inspired, at the same time, both pleasure and awe. In his hours of leisure, a most agreeable companion; in his table, and every species of entertainment of all princes the

most delicate; and yet, when business called, nothing could equal his activity, his diligence, and despatch. In which respect he imitated Bacchus most of all the gods; since he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with peace, and turn with the happiest address to the joys and pleasures which that inspires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great; and in the respect he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was very discernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the least influenced by the considerations of high station or power. Demetrius happening to come from hunting, when his father was giving audience to some ambassadors, went up and saluted him, and then sat down by him with his javelins in his hand. After they had received their answer, and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and said, "You may mention, too, the happy terms upon which I am with my son." By which he gave them to understand, that the harmony and confidence in which they lived, added strength to the kingdom, and security to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a partner, so liable to jealousy and hatred, that the greatest and oldest of Alexander's successors rejoiced that he had no occasion to fear his own son, but could freely let him approach him with his weapons in his hand. Indeed, we may venture to say, that this family alone, in the course of many successions, was free from these evils. Of all the descendants of Antigonus, Philip was the only prince who put his son to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of sons, mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a *postulatum* in geometry, it was considered as indisputably necessary to the safety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well disposed by nature to the offices of humanity and friendship, the following is a proof. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, was of the same age, and his constant companion. He was likewise one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an unblemished character. Yet Antigonus conceived some suspicion of him from a dream. He thought

he entered a large and beautiful field, and sowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the same precious metal; but coming a little after to visit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the stalks. As he was in great distress about his loss, he heard some people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and was gone with it towards the Euxine sea.

Disturbed at the dream, he communicated it to his son, having first made him swear to keep it secret, and, at the same time, informed him of his absolute determination to destroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited on him as usual, that they might pursue their diversions together, he durst not speak to him on the subject, because of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him aside from the rest of his companions; and when they were alone, he wrote on the ground, with the bottom of his spear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man understanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished the dream of Antigonus; for Mithridates conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, and was at last destroyed by the Romans. This is a sufficient evidence that Demetrius was naturally well inclined to justice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the sources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly such as touch or approach each other; so among the successors of Alexander there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the most violent when inflamed by the opposition of interest, or vicinity of place. This was the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus, while he resided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was ravaging the country, and reducing the cities either by solicitation or force. Upon this he sent his son Demetrius against him, though he was only twenty-two years of age; and in this first command had the greatest and most difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally

matched with a general from the school of Alexander, who had distinguished himself in many important combats under that prince. Accordingly, he was defeated near Gaza; five thousand of his men were killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners. He lost also his tents, his military chest, and his whole equipage. But Ptolemy sent them back to him, together with his friends; adding this generous and obliging message, "That they ought only to contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he might not long be Ptolemy's debtor, but soon have it in his power to return the favour." Nor was he disconcerted, as most young men would be, with such a miscarriage in his first essay. On the contrary, like a complete general, accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, he employed himself in making new levies and providing arms; he kept the cities to their duty, and exercised the troops he had raised.

As soon as Antigonus was apprized how the battle went, he said, "Ptolemy has, indeed, beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with men." However, as he did not choose to repress the spirit of his son, on his request, he gave him permission to try his fortune again by himself. Not long after this, Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpose he brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt on account of his late defeat. But Demetrius, by a sudden attack, struck his adversaries with such panic, that both the camp and the general fell into his hands, together with very considerable treasures. Yet he did not consider the gain, but the ability to give: nor so much valued the glory and riches which this advantage brought him, as its enabling him to requite the generosity of Ptolemy. He was not, however, for proceeding upon his own judgment; he consulted his father; and, on his free permission to act as he thought proper, loaded Cilles and his friends with his favours, and sent them back to their master. By this turn of affairs, Ptolemy lost his footing in Syria; and Antigonus marched down from Celæne, rejoicing in his son's success, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius, after this, being sent to subdue the Nabathæan Arabs, found himself in great danger, by falling into a desert country, which afforded no water. But the barbarians, astonished at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to attack him; and he retired with a considerable booty, amongst which were seven hundred camels.

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus; but he had recovered it by his own arms; and was now marching with his main army, to reduce the nations which bordered upon India, and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Mesopotamia unguarded, suddenly passed the Euphrates, and fell upon Babylon. There were two strong castles in that city; but by this manœuvre in the absence of Seleucus, he seized one of them, dislodged the garrison, and placed there seven thousand of his own men. After this, he ordered the rest of his soldiers to plunder the country for their own use, and then returned to the seacoast. By these proceedings he left Seleucus better established in his dominions than ever; for his laying waste the country, seemed as if he had no farther claim to it.

In his return through Syria, he was informed that Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus; upon which he hastened to its relief, and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to succour the distressed gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a strong desire to rescue all Greece from the slavery it was held in by Cassander and Ptolemy. No prince ever engaged in a more just and honourable war; for they employed the wealth which they had gained by the conquest of the barbarians, for the advantage of the Greeks; solely with a view to the honour that such an enterprise promised.

When they had resolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends advised Antigonus, if he took the city, to keep it, as the key of Greece; but that prince would not listen to him. He said, "The best and securest of all keys was the friendship of the people; and that Athens was the watch-tower of the world, from whence the torch of his glory would blaze over the earth."

In consequence of these resolutions.

Demetrius sailed to Athens with five thousand talents of silver, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius, the Phalerean, governed the city for Cassander, and had a good garrison in the fort of Munychia. His adversary, who managed the affair, both with prudence and good fortune, made his appearance before the Piræus on the twenty-fifth of May.* The town had no information of his approach and when they saw his fleet coming in, they concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as such. But at last the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, ran to oppose it. All the tumult and confusion followed, which was natural when an enemy came unexpected, and was already landing. For Demetrius finding the mouth of the harbour open, ran in with ease; and the people could plainly distinguish him on the deck of his ship, whence he made signs to them to compose themselves and keep silence. They complied with his demand; and a herald was ordered to proclaim, "That his father Antigonus, in a happy hour, he hoped for Athens, had sent him to reinstate them in their liberties, by expelling the garrison, and to restore their laws and ancient form of government."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and receiving the proposal with loud acclamations, desired Demetrius to land, and called him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius, the Phalerean, and his partisans, thought it necessary to receive a man who came with such a superior force, though he should perform none of his promises, and accordingly sent deputies to make their submission. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and sent back with them Aristodemus the Milesian, a friend of his father's. At the same time, he was not unmindful of Demetrius the Phalerean, who, in this revolution, was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy; but out of regard to his character and virtue, sent him with a strong convoy to Thebes, agreeably to his request. He likewise assured the Athenians, that however desirous he might be to see their city, he would deny himself that pleasure

* *Thargelion.*

till he had set it entirely free, by expelling the garrison. He therefore surrounded the fortress of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the rest of the city, and then sailed to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison.

On his arrival, he was informed, that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander the son of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patræ, and had a desire to see him. In consequence of which he left his forces in the territory of Megara, and with a few light horse took the road to Patræ. When he was near the place, he drew off from his men, and pitched his tent apart, that Cratesipolis might not be perceived when she came to pay her visit. But a party of the enemy getting intelligence of this, fell suddenly upon him. In his alarm, he had only time to throw over him a mean cloak; and, in that disguise, saved himself by flight. So near an infamous captivity had his intemperate love of beauty brought him. As for his tent, the enemy took it, with all the riches it contained.

After Megara was taken, the soldiers prepared to plunder it; but the Athenians interceded strongly for that people, and prevailed. Demetrius was satisfied with expelling the garrison, and declared the city free. Amidst these transactions, he bethought himself of Stilpo, a philosopher of great reputation, who sought only the retirement and tranquillity of a studious life. He sent for him, and asked him, "Whether they had taken anything from him?" "No," said Stilpo, "I found none that wanted to steal any knowledge." The soldiers, however, had clandestinely carried off almost all the slaves. Therefore, when Demetrius paid his respects to him again, on leaving the place, he said, "Stilpo, I leave you entirely free." "True," answered Stilpo, "for you have not left a slave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the siege of Munychia, dislodged the garrison, and demolished the fortress. After which the Athenians pressed him to enter the city, and he complied. Having assembled the people, he re-established the commonwealth in its ancient form; and, moreover, promised them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty

thousand measures* of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the democracy fifteen years after it was dissolved. During the interval, after the Lamian war, and the battle of Cranon, the government was called an oligarchy, but in fact, was monarchical; for the power of Demetrius, the Phalerean, met with no control.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his services to Athens; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours they decreed him; for they were the first who gave him and his father Antigonus the title of kings, which they had hitherto religiously avoided; and which was, indeed, the only thing left the descendants of Philip and Alexander, uninvaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone† honoured them with the appellation of the gods protectors; and, instead of denominating the year as formerly, from the *archon*, they abolished his office, created annually in his room a priest of those gods protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewise ordered that their portraits should be wrought in the holy veil with those of the other gods.‡ They consecrated the place where their patron first alighted from his chariot, and erected an altar there to DEMETRIUS *Catabates*. They added two to the number of their tribes, and called them *Demetrias* and *Antigonis*; in consequence of which the senate, which before consisted of five hundred mem-

* Medimni.

† No other people were found capable of such vile adulation. Their servility showed how little they deserved the liberty that was restored them.

‡ Every fifth year the Athenians celebrated the *Panathenæa*, or festival of Minerva, and carried in procession the *Peplum*, or holy veil, in which the defeat of the Titans, and the actions of Minerva, were inwrought. In this veil, too, they placed the figures of those commanders who had distinguished themselves by their victories; and from thence came the expression, that such an one was worthy of the *Peplum*; meaning, that he was a brave soldier. As to the form of the *Peplum*, it was a large robe without sleeves. It was drawn by land in a machine like a ship along the *Ceramicus*, as far as the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusius*; from whence it was brought back and consecrated in the *citadel*.

bers, was to consist of six hundred; for each tribe supplied fifty.

Stratocles, of whose inventions these wise compliments were, thought of a stroke still higher. He procured a decree, that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be called ambassadors, but *Theori*, a title which had been appropriated to those who, on the solemn festivals, carried the customary sacrifices to Delphi and Olympia, in the name of the Grecian states. This Stratocles was, in all respects, a person of the most daring effrontery and the most debauched life, inasmuch that he seemed to imitate the ancient Cleon in his scurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a mistress called Phylacium; and one day, when she brought from the market some heads for supper, he said, "Why how now! you have provided us just such things to eat as we statesmen use for tennis-balls."

When the Athenians were defeated in the sea-fight near Amorgas, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and passing through the Ceramicus with a chaplet on his head, told the people that they were victorious. He then moved that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered, and meat distributed among the tribes for a public entertainment. Two days after, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home; and the people, in great anger, calling him to answer for the imposition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult, with the most consummate assurance, and said, "What harm have I done you, in making you merry for two days?" Such was the impudence of Stratocles.

But there were other extravagances, *hotter than fire itself*, as Aristophanes expresses it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in servility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he visited Athens, should be received with the same honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever exceeded the rest in the splendour and magnificence of the reception he gave that prince, should have money out of the treasury to enable him to set up some pious memorial of his success.

These instances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month *Munychion* to *Demetrian*, with calling the last day of every month *Demetrias*; and the *Dionysia*, or feasts of Bacchus, *Demetria*.

The gods soon showed how much they were offended at these things; for the veil in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus, along with those of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the *Ceramicus*, was rent asunder by a sudden storm of wind. Hemlock grew up in great quantities round the altars of those princes, though it is a plant seldom found in that country. On the day when the *Dionysia* were to be celebrated, they were forced to put a stop to the procession by the excessive cold, which came entirely out of season; and there fell so strong a hoar frost, that it blasted not only the vines and fig-trees, but great part of the corn in the blade. Hence, Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies:—"Who was the wicked cause of our vines being blasted by the frost, and of the sacred veil's being rent asunder? He who transferred the honours of the gods to men; it is he, not comedy,* that is the ruin of the people." Philippides enjoyed the friendship of Lysimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince on his account. Nay, whenever Lysimachus was waited on by this poet, or happened to meet him, he considered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great business or important expedition. Besides, he was a man of excellent character, never importunate, intriguing, or over officious, like those who are bred in a court. One day Lysimachus called to him in the most obliging manner, and said, "What is there of mine that you would share in?" "Anything," said he, "but your secrets." I have purposely contrasted these characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

• It is probable that Stratocles, and the other persons of his character, inveighed against the dramatic writers, on account of the liberties they took with their vices; though this was after the time that the *middle comedy* prevailed at Athens.

What exceeded all the rage of flattery we have mentioned was the decree proposed by Dromocles the Sphettian; according to which they were to consult the oracle of Demetrius, as to the manner in which they were to dedicate certain shields at Delphi. It was conceived in these terms:—"In a fortunate hour, be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to the god protector, and, after due sacrifices offered, demand of Demetrius, the god protector, what will be the most pious, the most honourable and expeditious method of consecrating the intended offerings. And it is hereby enacted, that the people of Athens will follow the method dictated by his oracle." By this mockery of incense to his vanity, who was scarcely in his senses before, they rendered him perfectly insane.

During his stay at Athens, he married Eurydice, a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, who was the widow of Opheltas king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city; though Demetrius made no sort of difficulty of marrying, and had many wives at the same time. Of all his wives, he paid most respect to Phila, because she was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who, of all the successors of Alexander, was most regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius was very young when his father persuaded him to marry her, though she was advanced in life, and on that account unfit for him. As he was disinclined to the match, Antigonus is said to have repeated to him that verse of Euripides, with a happy parody:—

When Fortune spreads her stores, we yield
to marriage
Against the bent of nature.

Only putting *marriage* instead of *bondage*. However, the respect which Demetrius paid Phila and his other wives was not of such a nature but that he publicly entertained many mistresses, as well slaves as freeborn women, and was more infamous for his excesses of that sort than any other prince of his time.

Meantime his father called him to take the conduct of the war against Ptolemy; and he found it necessary

to obey him. But as it gave him pain to leave the war he had undertaken for the liberties of Greece, which was so much more advantageous in point of glory, he sent to Cleonides, who commanded for Pompey in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary consideration, on condition that he would set those cities free. Cleonides, not accepting the proposal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops, and sailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy, and defeated him. Ptolemy himself soon after made his appearance with a great number of land forces, and a considerable fleet. On which occasion, several menacing and haughty messages passed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart, before he collected all his forces and trod him under foot; and Demetrius said, he would let Ptolemy go, if he would promise to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awakened the attention not only of the parties concerned, but of all other princes; for, beside the uncertainty of the event, so much depended upon it that the conqueror would not be master of Cyprus and Syria alone, but superior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ships, and he had ordered Menelaus, with sixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis, in the heat of the battle, and put the enemy in disorder, by falling on his rear. Against these sixty ships, Demetrius appointed a guard of ten, for that number was sufficient to block up the mouth of the harbour. His land forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and then bore down upon his adversary with a hundred and eighty ships. This he did with so much impetuosity, that Ptolemy could not stand the shock, but was defeated, and fled with eight ships only, which were all that he saved; for seventy were taken, with their crews, and the rest were sunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his servants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, that were stationed near the fleet in transports, all fell into the hands of Demetrius, and he carried them to his camp.

Among these was the celebrated Lamia, who at first was only taken notice

of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtesan. By this time her beauty was in the wane, yet she captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and so effectually enslaved him by the peculiar power of her address, that, though other women had a passion for him, he could only think of her.

After the sea-fight, Menelaus made no further resistance, but surrendered Salamis with all the ships, and the land forces, which consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot.

This victory, so great in itself, Demetrius rendered still more glorious by generosity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment and setting the prisoners free. He selected twelve hundred complete suits of armour from the spoils, and bestowed them on the Athenians. Aristodemus, the Milesian, was the person he sent to his father with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldest flatterer; and, on the present occasion, he designed to outdo himself. When he arrived on the coast of Syria from Cyprus, he would not suffer the ship to make land; but ordering it to anchor at a distance, and all the company to remain in it, he took the boat, and went on shore alone. He advanced towards the palace of Antigonus, who was watching for the event of this battle with all the solicitude that is natural to a man who has so great a concern at stake. As soon as he was informed that the messenger was coming, his anxiety increased to such a degree that he could scarce keep within his palace. He sent his officers and friends, one after another, to Aristodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought. But, instead of giving any of them an answer, he walked on with great silence and solemnity. The king, by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience, went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was gathered about Aristodemus, and people were running from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he was near enough to be heard, he stretched out his hand, and cried aloud, "Hail to king Antigonus! we have totally beaten Ptolemy at sea; we are masters of Cyprus, and have made sixteen thou-

sand eight hundred prisoners." Antigonus answered, "Hail to you too, my good friend! but I will punish you for torturing us so long; you shall wait long for your reward."

The people now, for the first time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He sent one to Demetrius; and in the letter that accompanied it, addressed him under the style of king. The Egyptians, when they were apprized of this circumstance, gave Ptolemy likewise the title of king, that they might not appear to be dispirited with their late defeat. The other successors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandize themselves. Lysimachus took the diadem; and Seleucus did the same in his transactions with the Greeks. The latter had worn it some time, when he gave audience to the barbarians. Cassander alone, while others wrote to him, and saluted him as king, prefixed his name to the letters in the same manner as formerly.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure; it gave them higher notions; it introduced a pompousness into their manners, and self-importance into their discourse; just as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, their voice, their whole deportment, and manner of address. After this they became more severe in their judicial capacity; for they laid aside that dissimulation with which they had concealed their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their subjects. So much could one word of a flatterer do! such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world!

Antigonus, elated with his son's achievements at Cyprus, immediately marched against Ptolemy; commanding his land forces in person, while Demetrius, with a powerful fleet, attended him along the coast. One of Antigonus's friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At first he seemed to run with great swiftness and force, but afterwards his strength gradually abated; and, on turning, he became very weak and drew his breath

with such pain, that he could scarce recover himself. Accordingly, Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered such a storm at sea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable shore. In this storm he lost many of his ships, and returned without effecting anything.

Antigonus was now little short of eighty; and his great size and weight disqualified him for war, still more than his age. He therefore left the military department to his son, who by his good fortune, as well as ability, managed it in the happiest manner. Nor was Antigonus hurt by his son's debaucheries, his expensive appearance, or his long carousals; for these were the things in which Demetrius employed himself in time of peace with the utmost licentiousness and most unbounded avidity. But in war, no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in sobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to all the world, Demetrius came after some expedition or other to salute his father, and kissed him so cordially, that he laughed and said, "Surely, my son, you think you are kissing Lamia." Once when he had been spending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excused himself at his return to court by saying, "That he had been hindered by a defluxion." "So I heard," said Antigonus, "but whether was the defluxion from Thasos or from Chios?" Another time, being informed that he was indisposed, he went to see him; and when he came to the door, he met one of his favourites going out. He went in, however, and sitting down by him, took hold of his hand. Demetrius said his fever had now left him. "I know it," said Antigonus, "for I met it this moment at the door." With such mildness he treated his son's faults, out of regard to his excellent performances. It is the custom of the Scythians in the midst of their carousals to strike the strings of their bows, to recall, as it were, their courage which is melting away in pleasure. But Demetrius one while gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and another while to business; he did not intermix them. His military talents, therefore, did not suffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay, he seemed to show greater abilities in his preparations for war than in the use of them. He was not content unless he had stores that were more than sufficient. There was something peculiarly great in the construction of his ships and engines, and he took an unwearied pleasure in the inventing of new ones; for he was ingenious in the speculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taste and knowledge of those arts to the purposes of diversion, or to pursuits of no utility, such as playing on the flute, painting, or turning.

Æropus, king of Macedon, spent his hours of leisure in making little tables and lamps. Attalus,* surnamed Philometer,† amused himself with planting poisonous herbs, not only henbane and hellebore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium.‡ These he cultivated in the royal gardens, and beside gathering them at their proper seasons, made it his business to know the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and sharpening heads for arrows. But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always something great in the fabric; together with a spirit of curiosity and love of the arts, there appeared in all his works a grandeur of design and dignity of invention, so that they were not only worthy of the genius and wealth but of the hand of a king. His friends were astonished at their greatness, and his very enemies were pleased with their beauty; nor is this description of him at all exaggerated. His enemies used to stand upon the shore, looking with admiration upon his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, as they sailed along; and his engines,

* Plutarch does not do that honour to Attalus which he deserves, when he mentions his employments as unworthy of a prince. He made many experiments in natural philosophy, and wrote a treatise on agriculture. Other kings, particularly Hiero and Archelaus, did the same.

† This is a mistake in Plutarch. Philometer was another prince, who made agriculture his amusement.

‡ *Dorycnium* was a common poisonous plant, which was so called from the point of spears being tinged with its juices.

called *helepoles*, were a pleasing spectacle to the very towns which he besieged; this is evident from facts. *Lysimachus*, who of all the princes of his time was the bitterest enemy to *Demetrius*, when he came to compel him to raise the siege of *Soli* in *Cilicia*, desired he would show him his engines of war and his manner of navigating the galleys; and he was so struck with the sight that he immediately retired. And the *Rhodians*, after they had stood a long siege, and at last compromised the affair, requested him to leave some of his engines, as monuments both of his power and of their valour.

His war with the *Rhodians* was occasioned by their alliance with *Ptolemy*; and in the course of it he brought the largest of his *helepoles* up to their walls. Its base was square; each of its sides at the bottom forty-eight cubits wide; and it was sixty-six cubits high. The sides of the several divisions gradually lessened, so that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inside was divided into several stories or rooms, one above another. The front which was turned towards the enemy had a window in each story, through which missile weapons of various kinds were thrown; for it was filled with men who practised every method of fighting. It neither shook nor veered the least in its motion, but rolled on in a steady upright position; and as it moved with a horrible noise, it at once pleased and terrified the spectators.*

He had two coats of mail brought from *Cyprus*,† for his own use in this war, each of which weighed forty *minæ*. *Zoilus* the maker, to show the excellence of their temper, ordered a dart to be shot at one of them from an engine at the distance of twenty-six paces, and it stood so firm that there was no more mark upon it than what might be made with such a style as is used in writing. This he took for himself, and

* *Diodorus Siculus* says, this machine had nine stories, and that it rolled on four large wheels, each of which was sixteen feet high.

† *Pliny* says, that the *Cyprian Adamant* was impregnable. *Cyprus* was famous for the metal of which armour was made even in the time of the *Trojan* war; and *Agamemnon* had a cuirass sent him from *Cyniras* King of *Cyprus*. *Hom. Il. xi.*

gave the other to *Alcimus* the *Epirot*, a man of the greatest bravery and strength of any in his army. The *Epirot's* whole suit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others weighed no more than one. He fell in the siege of *Rhodes*, in an action near the theatre.

As the *Rhodians* defended themselves with great spirit, *Demetrius* was not able to do anything considerable. There was one thing in their conduct which he particularly resented, and for that reason he persisted in the siege. They had taken the vessel in which were letters from his wife *Phila*, together with some robes and pieces of tapestry, and they sent it as it was to *Ptolemy*. In which they were far from imitating the politeness of the *Athenians*, who, when they were at war with *Philip*, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but sent him that of *Olympias* with the seal entire.

But *Demetrius*, though much incensed, did not retaliate upon the *Rhodians*, though he soon had an opportunity. *Protopogenes* of *Caunus* was at that time painting for them the history of *Jalysus*,‡ and had almost finished it when *Demetrius* seized it in one of the suburbs. The *Rhodians* sent a herald

‡ We have not met with the particular subject of this famous painting. *Jalysus* was one of the fabulous heroes, the son of *Ochimus* and grandson of *Apollo*; and there is a town in *Rhodes* called *Jalysus*, which probably had its name from him. It was in this picture that *Protopogenes*, when he had long laboured in vain to paint the foam of a dog, happily hit it off, by throwing the brush in anger at the dog's mouth. *Ælian*, as well as *Plutarch*, says, that he was seven years in finishing it. *Pliny* tells us, that he gave it four coats of colours, that when one was effaced by time, another might supply its place. He tells us too, that while *Protopogenes* was at work, he was visited by *Demetrius*, and when the latter asked him how he could prosecute his work with so much calmness under the rage of war, he answered, that "Though *Demetrius* was at war with *Rhodes*, he did not suppose he was at war with the arts." He is said to have lived on lupines during the time he was employed on this painting, that his judgment might not be clouded by luxurious diet. The picture was brought to Rome by *Cassius*, and placed in the Temple of Peace, where it remained till the time of *Commodus*; when, together with the temple, it was consumed by fire.

to entreat him to spare the work, and not suffer it to be destroyed. Upon which he said, "He would rather burn the pictures of his father than hurt so laborious a piece of art." For Protagenes is said to have been seven years in finishing it. Apelles tells us, that when he first saw it, he was so much astonished that he could not speak; and at last, when he recovered himself, he said, "A masterpiece of labour! A wonderful performance! But it wants those graces which raise the fame of my paintings to the skies." This piece was afterwards carried to Rome, and, being added to the number of those collected there, was destroyed by fire. The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the war; Demetrius too wanted only a pretence to put an end to it, and he found one. The Athenians came and reconciled them on this condition, that the Rhodians should assist Antigonus and Demetrius as allies, in all their wars except those with Ptolemy.

At the same time the Athenians called him to their succour against Cassander, who was besieging their city. In consequence of which he sailed thither with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, and a numerous body of land forces. With these he not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but followed him to Thermopylæ, and entirely defeated him there. Heraclea then voluntarily submitted, and he received into his army six thousand Macedonians who came over to him. In his return he restored liberty to the Greeks within the straits of Thermopylæ, took the Bœotians into his alliance, and made himself master of Cenchreæ. He likewise reduced Phyle and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been garrisoned by Cassander, and put them in the hands of the Athenians again. The Athenians, though they had lavished honours upon him before in the most extravagant manner, yet contrived on this occasion to appear new in their flattery. They gave orders that he should lodge in the back part of the Parthenon; which accordingly he did, and Minerva was said to have received him as her guest; a guest not very fit to come under her roof, or suitable to her virgin purity.

In one of their expeditions his bro-

ther Philip took up his quarters in a house where there were three young women. His father Antigonus said nothing to Philip, but called the quarter-master, and said to him in his presence, "Why do not you remove my son out of this lodging, where he is so much straitened for room?" And Demetrius, who ought to have revered Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldest sister (for so he affected to call her,) behaved in such a manner to persons of both sexes who were above the condition of slaves, and the citadel was so polluted with his debaucheries, that it appeared to be kept sacred in some degree, when he indulged himself only with such prostitutes as Chrysis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things we choose to pass over out of regard to the character of the city of Athens; but the virtue and chastity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of silence. Democles was very young, and his beauty was no secret to Demetrius. Indeed, his surname unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles *the handsome*. Demetrius, through his emissaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats, but neither could prevail. He left the wrestling ring and all public exercises, and made use only of a private bath. Demetrius watched his opportunity, and surprised him there alone. The boy seeing nobody near to assist him, and the impossibility of resisting with any effect, took off the cover of the caldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true, he came to an unworthy end, but his sentiments were worthy of his country and of his personal merit.

Very different were those of Cleænetus the son of Cleomedon. That youth having procured his father the remission of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, signifying his pleasure in that respect; by which he not only dishonoured himself but brought great trouble upon the city. The people took off the fine, but at the same time they made a decree, that no citizen should for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was disobliged at it, and expressed his resentment in strong terms, they not only

repealed the act, but punished the persons who proposed and supported it, some with death, and some with banishment. They likewise passed a new edict, importing, "That the people of Athens had resolved, that whatsoever thing Demetrius might command, should be accounted holy in respect to the gods, and just in respect of men. Some person of better principle on this occasion happening to say, that Stratocles was mad in proposing such decrees, Demochares the Leuconian answered,* "He would be mad, if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his servility; and for this saying Demochares was prosecuted and banished the city. To such meannesses were the Athenians brought, when the garrison seemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people!

Demetrius afterwards passed into Peloponnesus, where he found no resistance, for all his enemies fled before him, or surrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with ease that part of the country called Acte, and all Arcadia, except Mantinea. Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, he set free from their garrisons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About that time the feasts of Juno came on at Argos, and Demetrius presided in the games and other exhibitions. During these solemnities he married Deidamia the daughter of Æcides king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus. He told the Sicyonians that they lived out of their city, and showing them a more advantageous situation, persuaded them to build one where the town now stands. Along with the situation he likewise changed the name, calling the town Demetrias, instead of Sicyon.

The states being assembled at the Isthmus, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been before; and in the elation of power and success, he thought himself a much greater man. Alexander robbed no other prince of his title, nor did he ever declare himself king of kings, though he raised many both to the style and authority of

kings. But Demetrius thought no man worthy of that title, except his father and himself. He even ridiculed those who made use of it, and it was with pleasure he heard sycophants at his table drinking king Demetrius, Seleucus commander of the elephants, Ptolemy admiral, Lysimachus treasurer, and Agathocles the Sicilian, governor of the islands. The rest of them only laughed at such extravagant instances of vanity. Lysimachus alone was angry, because Demetrius seemed to think him no better than an eunuch; for the princes of the east had generally eunuchs for their treasurers. Lysimachus, indeed, was the most violent enemy that he had; and now taking an opportunity to disparage him on account of his passion for Lamia, he said, "This was the first time he had seen a whore act in a tragedy."† Demetrius said in answer, "My whore is an honest woman than his Penelope."

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated and to be immediately admitted not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the less mysteries were celebrated in February,‡ and the greater in September;§ and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at least after they had attended the greater mysteries.|| When the letters were read, Pythodorus the torchbearer, was the only person who ventured to oppose the demand; and his opposition was entirely ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree that the month of *Munychion* should be called and reputed the month of *Antheserion*, to give Demetrius an opportunity for his first initiation, which was to be per-

† The modern stage needs not be put to the blush by this assertion in favour of the ancient; the reason of it was, that there were no women actors. Men in female dresses performed their parts.

‡ *Antheserion*.

§ *Boëdromion*.

|| Plutarch in this place seems to make a difference between the intuitive and the greater mysteries, though they are commonly understood to be the same. Casaubon and Meursius think the text corrupt; but the manner in which they would restore it, does not render it less perplexed.

* The nephew of Demosthenes.

formed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was changed again into Boedromion. By these means Demetrius was admitted to the greater mysteries and to immediate inspection. Hence those strokes of satire upon Stratocles from the poet Philippides—"The man who can contract the whole year into one month;" and with respect to Demetrius's being lodged in the *Parthenon*—"The man who turns the temples into inns, and brings prostitutes into the company of the virgin goddess."

But amongst the many abuses and enormities committed in their city, no one seems to have given the Athenians greater uneasiness than this:—He ordered them to raise two hundred and fifty talents in a very short time, and the sum was exacted with the greatest rigour. When the money was brought in, and he saw it all together, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other mistresses to buy soap. Thus the disgrace hurt them more than the loss, and the application more than the impost. Some, however, say, that it was not to the Athenians he behaved in this manner, but to the people of Thessaly. Besides this disagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many persons on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king; and the expense of that supper was so remarkable that Lynceus the Samian took the pains to give a description of it. For the same reason a comic poet of those times, with equal wit and truth, called Lamia an *Helepolis*. And Demochares the Solian, called Demetrius *Muthos*, that is *idle* because he too had his *Lamia*.*

The great interest that Lamia had with Demetrius in consequence of his passion for her excited a spirit of envy and aversion to her, not only in the breasts of his wives but of his friends. Demetrius having sent ambassadors to

Lysimachus on some occasion or other, that prince amused himself one day with showing them the deep wounds he had received from a lion's claw in his arms and thighs, and gave them an account of his being shut up with that wild beast by Alexander the Great and the battle he had with it.† Upon which they laughed, and said, "The king our master, too, bears on his neck the marks of a dreadful wild beast called a Lamia." Indeed, it was strange that he should at first have so great an objection against the disparity of years between him and Phila, and afterwards fall into such a lasting captivity to Lamia, though she had passed her prime at their first acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at supper, Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed *Mania*,‡ what she thought of her. "I think her an old woman, Sir," said Demo. Another time, when there was an extraordinary dessert on the table, he said to her, "You see what fine things Lamia sends me:" "My mother will send you finer," answered Demo, "if you will but lie with her."

We shall mention only one story more of Lamia, which relates to her censure of the celebrated judgment of Bocchoris. In Egypt there was a young man extremely desirous of the favours of a courtesan named Thonis, but she set too high a price upon them. Afterwards he fancied that he enjoyed her in a dream, and his desire was satisfied. Thonis, upon this, commenced an action against him for the money, and Bocchoris having heard both parties, ordered the man to tell the gold that she demanded into a basin, and shake it about before her, that she might enjoy the sight of it; "For fancy," said he, "is no more than the shadow of truth." Lamia did not think this a just sentence; because the woman's desire of the gold was not removed by the appearance of it; whereas the dream cured the passion of her lover.

The change in the fortunes and actions of the subject of our narrative

* Fabulous history mentions a queen of Libya, who, out of rage for the loss of her own children, ordered those of other women to be brought to her and devoured them. From whence she was called *Lamia* from the Phœnician word *lahama*, to devour. Upon this account, Diodorus tells us that *Lamia* became a bugbear to children. And this satisfies M. Dacier with regard to the explanation of this passage in Plutarch.

† Justin and Pausanias mention this; but Q. Curtius doubts the truth of it: and he probably is in the right.

‡ In English, Miss Madcap.

now turns the comic scene into tragedy; all the other kings having united their forces against Antigonus. Demetrius left Greece in order to join him, and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a spirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretensions, and restrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the pre-eminence among the successors of Alexander, not only for himself, but for his son after him. But being naturally arrogant, imperious, and no less insolent in his expressions than in his actions, he exasperated many young and powerful princes against him. He boasted, that "he could break the present league, and disperse the united armies with as much ease as a boy does a flock of birds, by throwing a stone, or making a slight noise."

He had an army of more than seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's infantry consisted of sixty-four thousand men, their cavalry of ten thousand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in sight, there was a visible change in the mind of Antigonus, but rather with respect to his hopes than his resolution. In other engagements his spirits used to be high, his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expressions vaunting; insomuch that he would sometimes in the heat of the action let fall some jocular expression, to show his unconcern and his contempt of his adversary; but at this time he was observed for the most part to be thoughtful and silent; and one day he presented his son to the army, and recommended him as his successor. What appeared still more extraordinary, was that he took him aside into his tent, and discoursed with him there; for he never used to communicate his intentions to him in private, or to consult him in the least, but to rely entirely on his own judgment, and to give orders for the execution of what he had resolved on by himself. It is reported that Demetrius, when very young, once asked him when they should decamp, and that he answered angrily, "Are you afraid that you only shall not hear the trumpet?"

On this occasion, it is true, their spirits were depressed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed that Alexander came to him in a magnificent suit of armour, and asked him what was to be the word in the ensuing battle. Demetrius answered, *Jupiter and victory*; upon which Alexander said, "I go then to your adversaries, for they are ready to receive me." When the army was put in order of battle, Antigonus stumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face, received a considerable hurt. After he had recovered himself, he stretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed either for victory, or that he might die before he was sensible that the day was lost.

When the battle was begun, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and fought with so much bravery that he put the enemy to flight; but by a vain and unseasonable ambition to go upon the pursuit, he lost the victory; for he went so far that he could not get back to join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having taken up the intermediate space. Seleucus, now seeing his adversary's foot deprived of their horse, did not attack them, but rode about them as if he was going every moment to charge; intending by this manœuvre both to terrify them and to give them opportunity to change sides. The event answered his expectation; great part separated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him; the rest were put to the rout. When great numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of those that were about him, said, "They are coming against you, sir." He answered, "What other object can they have? But Demetrius will come to my assistance." In this hope he continued to the last, still looking about for his son, till he fell under a shower of darts. His servants and his very friends forsook him; only Thorax of Larissa, remained by the dead body.

The battle being thus decided, the kings who were victorious, dismembered the kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like some great body, and each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces which these two princes were possessed of before. Demetrius fled with five thou-

sand foot and four thousand horse; and as he reached Ephesus in a short time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would not spare the temple. However, he not only spared it himself,* but fearing that his soldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the place and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians; for with them he had left his ships, his money, and his wife Deidamia; and in this distress he thought he could have no safer asylum than their affection. He therefore pursued his voyage with all possible expedition; but ambassadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades; and entreated him not to think of going thither, because the people had declared by an edict that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara with a proper retinue, and all the respect due to her rank. This so enraged Demetrius, that he was no longer master of himself, though he had hitherto borne his misfortune with sufficient calmness, and discovered no mean or ungenerous sentiment in the great change of his affairs. But to be deceived, beyond all his expectations, by the Athenians; to find by facts that their affection, so great in appearance, was only false and counterfeit, was a thing that cut him to the heart. Indeed excessive honours are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes; for all the value of those honours rests in their being freely given; and there can be no certainty of that, because the givers may be under the influence of fear; and fear and love often produce the same public declarations. For the same reason wise princes will not look upon statues, pictures, or divine honours, but rather consider their own actions and behaviour, and, in consequence thereof, either believe those honours real, or disregard them as the dictates of necessity. Nothing more frequently happens than that the people hate their sovereign the most, at the time he is receiving the most immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius, though he severely felt

this ill treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore, by his envoys, expostulated with the Athenians in moderate terms, and only desired them to send him his galleys, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. As soon as he had received them, he steered for the Isthmus, but found his affairs there in a very bad situation. The cities expelled his garrisons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he then sailed to the Chersonesus, and by the ravages he committed in the country, distressed Lysimachus, as well as enriched and secured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather strength, and improve into a respectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lysimachus, who, at the same time that he was much more formidable in his power than Demetrius, was not in the least more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus sent proposals of marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had, indeed, already a son named Antiochus, by Apama, a Persian lady; but he thought that his dominions were sufficient for more heirs, and that he stood in need of this new alliance, because he saw Lysimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himself, and taking the other for his son Agathocles. A connexion with Seleucus was a happy and unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius.

He took his daughter, and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the course of the voyage he was several times under a necessity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coast of Cilicia, which had been given to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, as his share, after the defeat of Antigonus. Plistarchus thinking himself injured by the descent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Cassander, to complain of Seleucus for having reconciled himself to the common enemy without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius being informed of his departure, left the sea, and marched up to Quinda; where, finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treasures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption and set sail with

* A striking proof that adversity is the parent of virtue!

the utmost expedition, his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orossus. Their interview was conducted in a sincere and princely manner, without any marks of design or suspicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius first to his pavilion, and then Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They conversed at their ease, and passed the time together without guards or arms; till Selencus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius seized the province of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer the accusations brought against him by Plistarchus. Meantime, Deidamia came to him from Greece, but she had not spent any long time with him before she sickened and died; and Demetrius having accommodated matters with Ptolemy through Seleucus, it was agreed that he should marry Ptolemais, the daughter of that prince.

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and propriety; but afterwards he demanded that Demetrius should surrender Cilicia to him for a sum of money; and on his refusal to do that, angrily insisted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjustifiable and cruel. When he already commanded Asia from the Indies to the Syrian sea, how sordid was it to quarrel for two cities with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who laboured under so painful a reverse of fortune. A strong proof how true the maxim of Plato is, *That the man who would be truly happy should not study to enlarge his estate, but to contract his desires.* For he who does not restrain his avarice must for ever be poor.

However, Demetrius, far from being intimidated, said, "Though I had lost a thousand battles as great as that of Ipsus, nothing should bring me to buy the alliance of Seleucus;" and, upon this principle, he garrisoned these cities in the strongest manner. About this time having intelligence that Athens was divided into factions, and that Lachares, taking advantage of these, had seized the government, he expected to take the city with ease, if he appeared suddenly before it. Accordingly he set out with a considerable fleet, and

crossed the sea without danger; but, on the coast of Attica he met with a storm, in which he lost many ships and great numbers of his men. He escaped, however, himself, and began hostilities against Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations answered no end, he sent his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the mean time entered Peloponnesus, and laid siege to Messene. In one of the assaults he was in great danger; for a dart which came from an engine pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth. But he recovered, and reduced some cities that had revolted. After this, he invaded Attica again, took Eleusis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to take a ship loaded with wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This alarmed other merchants so much, that they forbore attempting anything of that kind, so that a famine ensued; and, together with the want of bread corn, the people were in want of everything else. A bushel of salt was sold for forty *drachmas*,* and a peck† of wheat for three hundred. A fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which Ptolemy sent to their relief, appeared before Ægina; but the encouragement it afforded them was of short continuance. A great reinforcement of ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus and Cyprus, so that he had not in all fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore, weighed anchor and steered off. The tyrant Lachares at the same time made his escape privately, and abandoned the city.

The Athenians, though they had made a decree that no man, under pain of death, should mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates nearest him, and sent ambassadors to his camp; not that they expected any favour from him, but they were forced to take that step by the extremity of famine. In the course of it many dreadful things happened, and this is related among the rest:—A father and his son were sitting in the same room in the last despair; when a

* *Medimnus*.

† *Modius*. These measures were something more, but we give only the round quantity. See the Table.

dead mouse happening to fall from the roof of the house, they both started up and fought for it. Epicurus the philosopher is said at that time to have supported his friends and disciples with beans, which he shared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In such a miserable condition was the city when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each side the stage, he came down through the passage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increased, but they were entirely dissipated when he began to speak; for neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expressions severe. He complained of them in soft and easy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a present of a hundred thousand measures of wheat,* and re-established such an administration as was most agreeable to them.

The orator Dromocles observed the variety of acclamations amongst the people, and that in the joy of their hearts they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums of those that spoke from the *rostrum*. He therefore proposed a decree that the Piræus and the fort of Munychia should be delivered up to king Demetrius. After this bill was passed, Demetrius, on his own authority, put a garrison in the museum; lest, if there should be another defection amongst the people, it might keep them from other enterprises.

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a design upon Lacedæmon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after he had put him to flight, he entered Laconia. There was another action almost in sight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred prisoners; so that he seemed almost master of a town which hitherto had never been taken. But surely fortune never displayed such sudden and extraordinary vicissitudes in the life of any other prince; in no other scene of things did she so often change from low to high, from a

glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins she had made. Hence he is said, in his greatest adversity, to have addressed her in the words of *Æschylus*:—

Thou gavest me life and honour, and thy hand
Now strikes me to the heart.

When his affairs seemed to be in so promising a train for power and empire, news was brought that Lysimachus, in the first place, had taken the cities he had in Asia, that Ptolemy had dispossessed him of all Cyprus, except the city of Salamis, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually besieged. Fortune, however, like the woman in *Archilochus*,

Whose right hand offered water, when the
left

Bore hostile fire——

Though she drew him from Lacedæmon by these alarming tidings, yet soon raised him a new scene of light and hope. She availed herself of these circumstances:—

After the death of Cassander, his eldest son Philip had but a short reign over the Macedonians, for he died soon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance. One of them, named Antipater, having killed his mother Thessalonica, Alexander, the other brother, called in the Greek princes to his assistance, Pyrrhus from Epirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus arrived first, and seized a considerable part of Macedonia, which he kept for his reward, and by that means became a formidable neighbour to Alexander. Demetrius no sooner received the letters than he marched his forces thither likewise, and the young prince was still more afraid of him on account of his great name and dignity. He met him, however, at Dium, and received him in the most respectful manner, but told him at the same time that his affairs did not now require his presence. Hence mutual jealousies arose, and Demetrius, as he was going to sup with Alexander upon his invitation, was informed that there was a design against his life, which was to be put in execution in the midst of the entertainment. Demetrius was not in the least disconcerted; he only slackened his pace, and

* *Medimni*.

gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms; after which he took his guards and the officers of his household, who were much more numerous than those of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banquetting-room with him, and to remain there till he rose from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by his train, durst not attack Demetrius; and he, for his part, pretending that he was not disposed to drink that evening, soon withdrew. Next day he prepared to decamp; and, alleging that he was called off by some new emergency, desired Alexander to excuse him if he left him soon this time; and assured him that at some other opportunity he would make a longer stay. Alexander rejoiced that he was going away voluntarily and without any hostile intentions, and accompanied him as far as Thessaly. When they came to Larissa, they renewed their invitations, but both with malignity in their hearts. In consequence of these polite manœuvres, Alexander fell into the snare of Demetrius. He would not go with a guard, lest he should teach the other to do the same. He therefore suffered that which he was preparing for his enemy, and which he only deferred for the surer and more convenient execution. He went to sup with Demetrius; and as his host rose up in the midst of the feast, Alexander was terrified, and rose up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, said no more to his guards than this, "Kill the man that follows me;" and then went out. Upon which they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to assist him. One of these is reported to have said, as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one day beforehand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, full of terror and confusion. In the morning the Macedonians were greatly disturbed with the apprehension that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, instead of an appearance of hostilities, he sent a message desiring to speak with them, and vindicate what was done, they recovered their spirits, and resolved to receive him with civility; when he came, he found it unnecessary to make long speeches. They hated Antipater for the murder of his mother, and as

they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedonia. The Macedonians who were at home proved not averse to the change; for they always remembered with horror Cassander's base behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned all in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a son by her to succeed him in the throne, a youth who was already grown up, and at this very time bore arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious turn of fortune, Demetrius received news that Ptolemy had set his wife and children at liberty, and dismissed them with presents and other tokens of honour. He was informed, too, that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus the son of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Asia. Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though she had a son by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greatest efforts to conquer his passion, but they were of no avail. At last, considering that his desires were of the most extravagant kind, that there was no prospect of satisfaction for them, and that the succours of reason entirely failed, he resolved in his despair to rid himself of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his person, and abstaining from food; for this purpose he made sickness his pretence. His physician, Erasistratus, easily discovered that his distemper was love; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out he spent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful person of either sex entered it, he observed with great attention, not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which corresponds the most with the passions of the soul. When others entered he was entirely unaffected; but when Stratonice came in, as she often did, either alone or with Seleucus, he showed all the symptoms described by Sappho, the faltering voice, the burning blush, the languid eye, the sudden sweat, the tumultuous pulse; and at length, the passion over

coming his spirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleness.

Erasistratus concluded from these tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the secret with him to the grave. He saw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet depending upon the affection which the king had for his son, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's disorder was love, but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite astonished, said, "How! love for which there is no remedy?" "It is certainly so," answered Erasistratus, "for he is in love with my wife." "What! Erasistratus," said the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuse to give your wife to my son, when you see us in danger of losing our only hope?" "Nay, would you do such a thing," answered the physician, "though you are his father, if he were in love with Stratonice?" "O, my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy should I be, if either God or man could remove his affections thither! I would give up my kingdom, so I could but keep Antiochus." He pronounced these words with so much emotion, and such a profusion of tears, that Erasistratus took him by the hand, and said, "Then there is no need of Erasistratus. You, sir, who are a father, a husband, and a king, will be the best physician too for your family."

Upon this, Seleucus summoned the people to meet in full assembly, and told them, "It was his will and pleasure that Antiochus should intermarry with Stratonice, and that they should be declared king and queen of the Upper Provinces. He believed," he said, "that Antiochus, who was such an obedient son, would not oppose his desire; and if the princess should oppose the marriage, as an unprecedented thing, he hoped his friends would persuade her to think, that what was agreeable to the king, and advantageous to the kingdom, was both just and honourable." Such is said to have been the cause of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now master of Macedonia and Thessaly; and as he had great part of Peloponnesus too, and the cities of Megara and Athens on the

other side of the Isthmus, he wanted to reduce the Bœotians, and threaten them with hostilities. At first they proposed to come to an accommodation with him on reasonable conditions; but Cleonymus the Spartan, having thrown himself in the meantime into Thebes with his army, the Bœotians were so much elated, that, at the instigation of Pisis the Thespian, who was a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then drew up his machines to the walls, and laid siege to Thebes; upon which Cleonymus, apprehending the consequence, stole out; and the Thebans were so much intimidated, that they immediately surrendered. Demetrius placed garrisons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus the historian governor of Bœotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful use of his victory, particularly in the case of Pisis; for though he took him prisoner, he did not offer him any injury; on the contrary, he treated him with great civility and politeness, and appointed him *polemarch* of Thespiæ.

Not long after this, Lysimachus being taken prisoner by Dromichaetes, Demetrius marched towards Thrace with all possible expedition, hoping to find it in a defenceless state. But, while he was gone, the Bœotians revolted again, and he had the mortification to hear on the road, that Lysimachus was set at liberty. He therefore immediately turned back in great anger; and finding, on his return, that the Bœotians were already driven out of the field by his son Antigonus, he laid siege again to Thebes. However, as Pyrrhus had overrun all Thessaly, and was advanced as far as Thermopylæ, Demetrius left the conduct of the siege to his son Antigonus, and marched against the warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse in Thessaly, and then returned to the siege. His first operation was to bring up his machine called *helepoles*; but he proceeded in it with great labour and by slow degrees, by reason of its size and weight; he could scarce move it two furlongs in two months.* As the Bœotians

* A wondrous kind of motion this for a

made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius often obliged his men to renew the assault, rather out of a spirit of animosity than the hope of any advantage, young Atigonus was greatly concerned at seeing such numbers fall, and said, "Why, Sir, do we let these brave fellows lose their lives without any necessity?" Demetrius, offended at the liberty he took, made answer, "Why do you trouble yourself about it? Have you any provisions to find for the dead?" To show, however, that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops only, he took his share in the danger, and received a wound from a lance that pierced through his neck. This gave him excessive pain, yet he continued the siege till he once more made himself master of Thebes. He entered the city with such an air of resentment and severity, that the inhabitants expected to suffer the most dreadful punishments; yet he contented himself with putting thirteen of them to death, and banishing a few more. All the rest he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after its being rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occasion took a very extraordinary step. As the Ætolians were in possession of the passes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be solemnized at Athens; alleging, that they could not pay their homage to Apollo in a more proper place than that where the people considered him as their patron and progenitor.

From thence he returned to Macedonia; but as he was naturally indisposed for a life of quiet and inaction, and observed besides that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and seditious in peace, he undertook an expedition against the Ætolians. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a respectable army, and with the rest of his forces marched against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to seek him; but as they happened to take different roads and missed each other, Demetrius laid waste Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus, obliged him to stand on his defence. The two generals met in

the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus, however, defeated his adversary, killed great numbers of his men, and made five thousand prisoners.

This battle was the principal cause of Demetrius's ruin; for Pyrrhus was not so much hated by the Macedonians for the mischief he had done them as admired for his personal bravery; and the late battle in particular gained him great honour; insomuch that many of the Macedonians said, "That of all the kings, it was in Pyrrhus only that they saw a lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas the other princes, especially Demetrius, imitated him only in a theatrical manner, by affecting a lofty port and majestic air."

Indeed, Demetrius did always appear like a theatrical king; for he not only affected a superfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold, but he had his shoes made of cloth of gold, with soles of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of most sumptuous magnificence. The figure of the world and all the heavenly bodies were to be represented upon it; but it was left unfinished, on account of his change of fortune. Nor did any of his successors ever presume to wear it, though Macedon had many pompous kings after him.

This ostentation of dress offended a people who were unaccustomed to such sights; but his luxurious and dissolute manner of life was a more obnoxious circumstance; and what obliged them most of all was his difficulty of access, for he either refused to see those who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harsh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the rest of the Greeks, their ambassadors waited two years at his court for an answer. The Lacedæmonians happening to send only one ambassador to him, he considered it as an affront, and said in great anger, "What! have the Lacedæmonians sent no more than one ambassador?" "No," said the Spartan, acutely in his laconic way, "one ambassador to one king."

One day, when he seemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be something less inaccessible, he was

machine that ran upon wheels! about twelve inches in an hour!

presented with several petitions, all which he received, and put them in the skirt of his robe. The people of course followed him with great joy; but no sooner was he come to the bridge over the *Axius* than he opened his robe, and shook them all into the river. This stung the Macedonians to the heart, when, looking for the protection of a king, they found the insolence of a tyrant. And this treatment appeared the harder to such as had seen, or heard from those who had seen, how kind the behaviour of Philip was on such occasions. An old woman was one day very troublesome to him in the street, and begged with great importunity to be heard. He said, "He was not at leisure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you should not be a king." The king was struck with these words, and having considered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace, where, postponing all other affairs, he gave audience for several days to all who chose to apply to him, beginning with the old woman. Indeed, nothing becomes a king so much as the distribution of justice. For "Mars is a tyrant," as *Timotheus* expresses it; but justice, according to *Pindar*, "Is the rightful sovereign of the world." The things which, *Homer* tells us, kings receive from *Jove*, are not machines for taking towns, or ships with brazen beaks, but law and justice;* these they are to guard and cultivate. And it is not the most warlike, the most violent and sanguinary, but the justest of princes, whom he calls the disciple of *Jupiter*.† But *Demetrius* was pleased with an appellation quite opposite to that which is given the king of the gods; for *Jupiter* is called *Polieus* and *Poliuchus*, the *patron and guardian of cities*; *Demetrius* is surnamed *Polioretetes*, the *destroyer of cities*. Thus in consequence of the union of power and folly, vice is substituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injustice are united too.

When *Demetrius* laid dangerously ill at *Pella*, he was very near losing *Macedonia*; for *Pyrrhus*, by a sudden inroad, penetrated as far as *Edessa*: but as soon as he recovered, he repulsed him with ease, and afterwards he came

to terms with him; for he was not willing to be hindered, by skirmishing for posts with *Pyrrhus*, from the pursuit of greater and more arduous enterprises. His scheme was to recover all his father's dominions; and his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the object, for he had raised an army of ninety-eight thousand foot, and near twelve thousand horse; and he was building five hundred galleys in the ports of *Piræus*, *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Pella*. He went himself to all these places, to give directions to the workmen, and assist in the construction. All the world was surprised, not only at the number, but at the greatness of his works; for no man, before his time, ever saw a galley of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. Afterwards, indeed, *Ptolemy Philopater* built one of forty banks; its length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and its height to the top of the prow forty-eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, exclusive of the rowers, who were no fewer than four thousand; and the decks and the several interstices were capable of containing near three thousand soldiers. This, however, was mere matter of curiosity, for it differed very little from an immovable building, and was calculated more for show than for use, as it could not be put in motion without great difficulty and danger. But the ships of *Demetrius* had their use as well as beauty; with all their magnificence of construction, they were equally fit for fighting; and though they were admirable for their size, they were still more so for the swiftness of their motion.

Demetrius having provided such an armament for the invasion of *Asia* as no man ever had before him, except *Alexander the Great*; *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lysimachus* united against him. They likewise joined in an application to *Pyrrhus*, desiring him to fall upon *Macedonia*; and not to look to himself as bound by the treaty with *Demetrius*, since that prince had entered into it, not with any regard to the advantage of *Pyrrhus*, or in order to avoid future hostilities, but merely for his own sake, that he might at present be at liberty to turn his arms against whom he pleased. As *Pyrrhus* accepted the proposal, *Demetrius*, while he was preparing for his voyage, found

* *Il. l. i. 231.*

† *Od. xix. 178.*

himself surrounded with war at home; for, at one instant of time, Ptolemy came with a great fleet to draw Greece off from its present master, Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus entering it from a nearer quarter, joined in ravaging the country. Demetrius, on this occasion, left his son in Greece, and went himself to the relief of Macedonia. His first operations were intended against Lysimachus; but as he was upon his march he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Beroëa; and the news soon spreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner, for nothing was to be found in the whole army but lamentations, tears, and expressions of resentment and reproach against their king. They were even ready to march off, under pretence of attending to their domestic affairs, but in fact to join Lysimachus.

In this case Demetrius thought proper to get at the greatest distance he could from Lysimachus, and turn his arms against Pyrrhus. Lysimachus was of their own nation, and many of them knew him in the service of Alexander; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire stranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference. But he was sadly mistaken in his conjecture; and he soon found it upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians always admired his distinguished valour, and had of old been accustomed to think the best man in the field the most worthy of a crown. Besides, they received daily accounts of the clemency with which he behaved to his prisoners. Indeed, they were inclined to desert to him or any other, so they could but get rid of Demetrius. They therefore began to go off privately and in small parties at first, but afterwards there was nothing but open disorder and mutiny in the camp. At last some of them had the assurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himself by flight, for "The Macedonians (they told him) were tired of fighting to maintain his luxury." These expressions appeared modest in comparison of the rude behaviour of others. He therefore entered his tent not like a real king, but a theatrical one; and having quitted his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As

multitudes were pillaging his tent, who not only tore it in pieces, but fought for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance; upon which, the tumult instantly ceased, and the whole army submitted to him. Lysimachus and he then divided Macedonia between them, which Demetrius had held without disturbance for seven years.

Demetrius, thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled to Cassandria, where his wife Phila was. Nothing could equal her sorrow on this occasion. She could not bear to see the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man and an exile! in her despair, therefore, and detestation of fortune, who was always more constant to him in her visits of adversity than prosperity, she took poison.

Demetrius, however, resolved to gather up the remains of his wreck; for which purpose he repaired to Greece, and collected such of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaus, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, gives this picture of his own fortune:—

I move on Fortune's rapid wheel: my lot
For ever changing like the changeful moon,
That each night varies; hardly now perceived;
And now she shows her bright horn; by degrees
She fills her orb with light; but when she reigns
In all her pride, she then begins once more
To waste her glories, till dissolved and lost,
She sinks again to darkness.——

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius, in his increase and wane, his splendour and obscurity. His glory seemed now entirely eclipsed and extinguished, and yet it broke out again, and shone with new splendour. Fresh forces came in, and gradually filled up the measure of his hopes. This was the first time he addressed the cities as a private man, and without any of the ensigns of royalty. Somebody seeing him at Thebes in this condition, applied to him, with propriety enough, those verses of Euripides,

To Dirce's fountain, and Ismenus' shore
In mortal form he moves a God no more.

When he had got into the high road of hope again, and had once more a respectable force and form of royalty

about him, he restored the Thebans their ancient government and laws. At the same time the Athenians abandoned his interests, and razing out of their registers the name of Diphilus, who was then priest of the gods protectors, ordered Archons to be appointed again according to ancient custom. They likewise sent for Pyrrhus from Macedonia, because they saw Demetrius grown stronger than they expected; Demetrius, greatly enraged, marched immediately to attack them, and laid strong siege to the city. But Crates the philosopher, a man of great reputation and authority, being sent out to him by the people, partly by his entreaties for the Athenians, and partly by representing to him that his interest laid another way, prevailed on Demetrius to raise the siege. After this, he collected all his ships, embarked his army, which consisted of eleven thousand foot, beside cavalry, and sailed to Asia, in hopes of drawing Caria and Lydia over from Lysimachus. Eurydice, the sister of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemais, a daughter she had by Ptolemy, who had formerly been promised him upon the application of Seleucus. Demetrius married her with the free consent of Eurydice, and soon after attempted the cities in that quarter; many of them opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter was Sardis. Some of the officers of Lysimachus likewise deserted to him, and brought sufficient appointments of money and troops with them. But, as Agathocles the son of Lysimachus came against him with a great army, he marched to Phrygia, with an intention to seize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might afford him many places of retreat upon occasion. Agathocles followed him close, and as he found Demetrius superior in all the skirmishes that he ventured upon, he betook himself to cutting off his convoys. This distressed him not a little; and, what was another disagreeable circumstance, his soldiers suspected that he designed to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increased every day; and by mistaking the fords of the river Lycus he had a great number of men

swept away with the stream. Yet, amidst all their distress, his troops were capable of jesting. One of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of *Cædipus* with a small alteration,

Thou offspring of the blind old king *Antigonus*,
Where dost thou lead us?

Pestilence at last followed the famine, as it commonly happens when people are under the necessity of eating anything, however unwholesome, so that finding he had lost in all not less than eight thousand men, he turned back with the rest. When he came down to Tarsus, he was desirous of sparing the country, because it belonged to Seleucus, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence to declare against him. But perceiving that it was impossible for his troops to avoid taking something, when they were reduced to such extremities, and that Agathocles had fortified the passes of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus containing a long and moving detail of his misfortune, and concluding with strong entreaties that he would take compassion on a prince who was allied to him, and whose sufferings were such as even an enemy might be affected with.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and sent orders to his lieutenants in those parts to supply Demetrius with every thing suitable to the state of a king, and his army with sufficient provisions. But Patrocles, who was a man of understanding, and a faithful friend to Seleucus, went to that prince and presented to him, "That the expense of furnishing the troops of Demetrius with provisions was a thing of small importance, in comparison of suffering Demetrius himself to remain in the country, who was always one of the most violent and enterprising princes in the world, and now was in such desperate circumstances as might put even those of the mildest dispositions on bold and unjust attempts."

Upon these representations Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, astonished and terrified at the sudden change of Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest posts he could find upon Mount Taurus, and sent a message to him, begging, "That he

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might be suffered to make a conquest of some free nations of barbarians, and by settling amongst them as their king, put a period to his wanderings. If this could not be granted, he hoped Seleucus would at least permit him to winter in that country, and not, by driving him out naked and in want of every thing, expose him in that condition to his enemies."

All these proposals had a suspicious appearance to Seleucus, he made answer, "That he might, if he pleased, spend two months of the winter in Cataonia, if he sent him his principal friends as hostages;" but at the same time he secured the passes into Syria. Demetrius, thus surrounded like a wild beast in the toils, was under a necessity of having recourse to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beset him with his armed chariots, and yet he broke through them, and put his enemy to the rout. After this he dislodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the side of Syria, and made himself master of the passages.

Elevated with this success, and finding the courage of his men restored, he prepared to fight a decisive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in great perplexity. He had rejected the succours offered him by Lysimachus, for want of confidence in his honour, and from an apprehension of his designs; and he was loath to try his strength with Demetrius, because he dreaded his desperate courage, as well as his usual change of fortune, which often raised him from great misery to the summit of power. In the meantime Demetrius was seized with a fit of sickness, which greatly impaired his personal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs; for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours and dispersed. In forty days he recovered with great difficulty; and getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving towards Cilicia. But afterwards in the night he decamped without sound of trumpet, and taking the contrary way, crossed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other side as far as Cyrrhestica.

Seleucus followed and encamped very

near him. Demetrius then put his army in motion in the night, in hopes of surprising him. Seleucus was retired to rest; and in all probability his enemy would have succeeded, had not some deserters informed him of his danger, just time enough for him to put himself in a posture of defence. Upon this he started up in great consternation, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm; and as he put on his sandals, he said to his friends, "What a terrible wild beast are we engaged with!" Demetrius perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his scheme was discovered, retired as fast as possible.

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, put himself at the head of the other, and made some impression upon the enemy. Meantime Seleucus quitting his horse, and laying aside his helmet, presented himself to Demetrius's hired troops with only his buckler in his hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and be convinced at last it was to spare them, not Demetrius, that he had been so long about the war. Upon which they all saluted him king, and ranged themselves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes he had experienced thought this the most terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himself from this distress as well as the rest, fled to the passes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, waited there for the night, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune. His intention was, if possible, to take the way to Canus, where he hoped to find his fleet, and from thence to make his escape by sea; but knowing he had not provisions even for that day, he sought for some other expedient. Afterwards one of his friends, named Sosigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purse; with the assistance of which money they hoped to reach the sea. Accordingly when night came, they attempted to pass the heights; but finding a number of fires lighted there by the enemy, they despaired of succeeding that way, and returned to their former retreat, but neither with their whole company (for some had gone off),

nor with the same spirits. One of them venturing to tell him, that he thought it was best for him to surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword to kill himself; but his friends interposed, and consoling him in the best manner they could, persuaded him to follow his advice: in consequence of which he sent to Seleucus, and yielded himself to his discretion.

Upon this news Seleucus said to those about him, "It is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine, that now saves him; and that adds to other favours this opportunity of testifying my humanity." Then calling the officers of his household, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and to provide every thing else for his reception and entertainment in the most magnificent manner. As there happened to be in the service of Seleucus one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately sent that person to him, that he might be more at ease, and come with the greater confidence, as to a son-in-law and a friend.

On the discovery of this favourable disposition of Seleucus towards him, at a first view, and afterwards a great number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and strove which should pay him the most respect; for it was expected that his interest with Seleucus would soon be the best in the kingdom. But these compliments turned the compassion which his distress had excited into jealousy, and gave occasion to the envious and malevolent to divert the stream of the king's humanity from him, by alarming him with apprehensions of no insensible change, but of the greatest commotions in his army on the sight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with great satisfaction; and others who followed to pay their court brought extraordinary accounts of the kindness of Seleucus; insomuch that Demetrius, though in the first shock of his misfortune, he had thought it a great disgrace to surrender himself, was now displeased at his aversion to that step. Such confidence had he in the hopes they held out to him; when Pausanias coming with a party of horse and foot, to the number of a thousand, suddenly surrounded him, and drove away such as he found inclined to fi-

avour his cause. After he had thus seized his person, instead of conducting him to the presence of Seleucus, he carried him to the Syrian Chersonesus. There he was kept, indeed, under a strong guard, but Seleucus sent him a sufficient equipage, and supplied him with money and a table suitable to his rank. He had also places of exercise and walks worthy of a king; his parks were well stored with game; and such of his friends as had accompanied him in his flight were permitted to attend him. Seleucus, too, had the complaisance often to send some of his people with kind and encouraging messages, intimating, that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should arrive, terms of accommodation would be hit upon, and he would obtain his liberty.

Under this misfortune, Demetrius wrote to his son, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, desiring them to trust neither his handwriting nor his seal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining estates for Antigonus. When the young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it; he put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himself offering, on condition that his father were set free, to cede all the possessions they had left, and deliver himself up as hostage. Many cities and princes joined in the request, but Lysimachus was not of the number. On the contrary, he offered Seleucus a large sum of money to induce him to put Demetrius to death. Seleucus, who looked upon him in an indifferent light before, abhorred him as a villain for his proposal; and only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice to make them the compliment of restoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at first supported his misfortune with patience, by custom learned to submit to it with a still better grace; for some time he took the exercises of hunting and running, but he left them by degrees, and sunk into indolence and inactivity. Afterwards he took to drinking and play, and spent most of his time in that kind of dissipation. Whether it was to put off the thoughts of his present condition, which he could not bear in his

sober hours, and to drown reflection in the bowl; or whether he was sensible at last that this was the sort of life which, though originally the object of his desires, he had idly wandered from, to follow the dictates of an absurd ambition. Perhaps he considered that he had given himself and others infinite trouble, by seeking with fleets and armies that happiness which he found when he least expected it, in ease, indulgence, and repose. For what other end does the wretched vanity of kings propose to itself in all their wars and dangers, but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for those of luxury and pleasure; the sure consequences of their not knowing what real pleasure and true enjoyment are.

Demetrius, after three years confinement in the Chersonesus, fell into a distemper occasioned by idleness and excess, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four. Seleucus was severely censured, and indeed was much concerned himself, for his unjust suspicion of Demetrius; whereas he should have followed the example of Dromichaetes, who, though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lysimachus, when his prisoner, with all the generosity that became a king.

There was something of theatrical pomp even in the funeral of Demetrius. For Antigonus being informed that they were bringing his father's ashes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the Isles of the *Ægean* sea, he took the urn, which was of solid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched sent crowns to adorn the urn, and persons in mourning to assist at the funeral solemnity.

When the fleet approached Corinth, the urn was seen in a conspicuous position upon the stern of the vessel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and attended by a company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, a most celebrated performer on the flute, sat by the urn and played a solemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy sound, like that of mourners in a funeral procession, beating their breasts in concert with the music. But it was the mournful appearance and the tears of Antigonus that excited the greatest compassion among the people as they passed. After the Corinthians had bestowed crowns and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrius, and deposited them there. This was a city called after the deceased, which he had peopled from the little towns about *Jolcos*.

Demetrius left behind him several children; Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; two sons of the name of Demetrius; one surnamed *The Slender*, by an Illyrian woman; the other was by Ptolemais, and came to be king of Cyrene. By Deidamia he had Alexander, who took up his residence in Egypt; and by his last wife Eurydice he is said to have had a son named Corrhæbus. His posterity enjoyed the throne in continued succession down to Perseus* the last king of Macedon, in whose time the Romans subdued that country. Thus having gone through the Macedonian drama, it is time that we bring the Roman upon the stage.

* About one hundred and sixteen years.



ANTONY.

HE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius.* His father was Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world,† but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof. His fortune was not large, and his wife, therefore, very prudently laid some restraint on his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance: Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver basin full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy was dismissed, he gave the basin to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the basin occasioned no small commotion in the family; and Antony finding his wife prepared to take a severe account of the servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of

* Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Marius. But Cicero mentions Cinna as the immediate cause. *Cic. Philip. 1.*

† Nevertheless, he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence was called *Cretensis*.

the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conspiracy of Catiline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed that his mother Julia, was even obliged to beg the body of Cicero's wife for interment; but this is not true; for none of those who suffered on the same occasion, under Cicero, were refused this privilege. Antony was engaging in his person, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a man who was devoted to every species of licentiousness, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the excesses of indulging in wine and women, and all the expenses that such indulgences are attended with. Of course, he was soon deeply involved in debt, and owed at least two hundred and fifty talents, while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, he attached himself to Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the state into such dreadful disorder

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till weary of his mad measures, and fearful of his opponents, he passed into Greece, where he employed himself in military exercises, and the study of eloquence. The Asiatic style* was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it; for it was correspondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinus the proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria.† This invitation he refused to accept, as a private man; but being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His first operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the first who scaled the wall; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from all his forts; and afterwards, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Most of the enemy were slain, and Aristobulus and his son were taken prisoners. Upon the conclusion of this war, Gabinus was solicited by Ptolemy to carry his arras into Egypt, and restore him to the kingdom.‡ The reward of this service was to be ten thousand talents. Most of the officers disapproved of the expedition; and Gabinus himself did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded strongly in its behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprises, and vain of gratifying a suppliant king used every means to draw Gabinus into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow; for they were to pass over a sandy and unwatered country, by the filthy marsh of Serbonis, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of

Typhon; though it is probably no more than the drawings of the Red Sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean only by a small neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only seized the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he at once opened a secure passage for the army, and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory which was so serviceable to his own party was, on this occasion, advantageous to the enemy; for when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony resolutely opposed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In the several actions where he was concerned, he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour, but especially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled those who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received suitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend and connected with him in the rights of hospitality; and though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppose him in the field, he no sooner heard that he was fallen than he ordered search to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him respected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose; and, upon the whole, the same manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition, that his family was descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anteone; and it was no wonder if Antony sought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to resemble him in his air and his dress. Thus, when he appeared in public, he wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct which would seem disagreea-

* Cicero, in his *Brutus*, mentions two sorts of style called the *Asiatic*. *Unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis. Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volvere, atque incitatum; quali nunc est Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et fuceto genere verborum.*

† Aulus Gabinus was consul in the year of Rome 695; and the year following he went into Syria.

‡ Dion. l. xxxix.

ple to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swaggering and ribald strain, ate and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the railery to which he was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers and to his friends was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities: one instance of his liberality I must mention. He had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *decies*) to be given to one of his friends. His steward, who was startled at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed. He saw it, and inquired what it was for. "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceived his envious design, and to mortify him still more, said coolly, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure; it is too little: let it be doubled."* This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no sooner in power than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and at the same time to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the Parthians; and that none should give in their

names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority; and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by this means he got over many to his interest. Two questions were at length put in the senate; one, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his army;" the other, "Whether Cæsar should give up his." There were but a few votes for the former, a large majority for the latter. Then Antony stood up, and put the question, "Whether both Cæsar and Pompey should not dismiss their armies." This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. This being opposed by the consuls, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable: but they were overruled by Cato,† and Antony commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house. He left them with bitter execrations; and disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage, and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar, upon this, marched his army into Italy, and hence it was observed by Cicero, in his Philippics, that Antony was no less the cause of the civil war in Rome than Helen had been of the Trojan war.‡ There is, however but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment as to enter on so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country.

† Cicero asserts, that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war; but if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have discovered a more immediate cause in the impolitic resentment of Cato.

‡ In the second Philippic. *Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic reipublicæ causa belli; causa vestis atque exitus fuit.*

* The same story is told of Alexander.

merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress and a hired carriage. At the same time, these things might give some colour to the commencement of these hostilities, which had been long determined. Cæsar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of mankind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first man upon earth, which he knew he could not be while Pompey was yet alive.

As soon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his first design was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readiness, to go afterwards in pursuit of Pompey himself, while, in the mean time, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the sociability of his disposition, soon made himself agreeable to the soldiers: for he ate and drank with them, and made them presents to the utmost of his ability. To others, his conduct was less acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cause of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to on business, and infamous for his adulteries. In short, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Cæsar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends; and as Antony had the greatest share of the power, so he bore the greatest part of the blame. Cæsar, notwithstanding, on his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities; and, indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly; for Antony was a brave, skillful, and active general.

Cæsar embarked at Brundisium, sailed over the Ionian sea with a small number of troops, and sent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius should put the army on board, and proceed as fast as possible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the sea, for it was winter, and the passage was dangerous. He therefore marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the

mouth of the haven of Brundisium. By sending out several small vessels, he encompassed Libo's galleys separately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse; and with these he set sail. The enemy discovered and made up to him; but he escaped by favour of a strong gale from the south, which made the sea so rough, that the pursuers could not reach him. The same wind, however, at first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the sea bore so hard that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck; but after a little, it turned to the south-west, and, blowing from land to the main sea, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this disaster; for he took several prisoners, and a considerable booty. He likewise made himself master of the town of Lissus; and, by the seasonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Cæsar wore a more promising aspect.

Antony distinguished himself in every battle that was fought. Twice he stopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; so that, in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæsar. What opinion Cæsar had of his abilities appeared in the last decisive battle at Pharsalia. He led the right wing himself, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey, and sent Antony to Rome in character of general of the horse. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his absence he commands alone; for, after the election of a dictator, all other magistrates, the tribunes only excepted, are divested of their authority.

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, proposed a law for abolishing debts, and solicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this measure. On the other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony hap-

pened, at this time, to suspect a criminal connexion between Dolabella and his wife, whom, on that account, he dismissed, though she was his first cousin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero. In consequence of this, he joined Asinius and opposed Dolabella. The latter had taken possession of the forum, with a design to pass his law by force; and Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and lost some of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: but this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of sense and virtue, as Cicero observes, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, his sleeping in the day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is said, that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was summoned in the morning upon business to the forum, when, through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the presence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris,* a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road by groves and rivers, for the most luxuriant dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his ladies of pleasure and female musicians in the houses of modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increased by the comparative view of Cæsar. While the latter was supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury, and, by means of his delegated power, insulting the citizens

This conduct occasioned a variety of disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity to abuse and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created consul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague. Antony purchased Pompey's house; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expressed himself in very angry terms; and this he tells us was the reason why he would not go with Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar, however, by his disapprobation of Antony's conduct, seems to have thrown some restraint on his dissolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, nor even contented with ruling her husband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern those that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due submission to female authority. He had gone through such a course of discipline, as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuse the violent spirit of Fulvia by many whimsical and pleasant follies. When Cæsar, after his success in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongst others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Cæsar was killed, and that the enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately into Rome, and, in the disguise of a slave, went to his house by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before she received the letter, she asked, with impatience, if Antony were well. He presented the letter to her in silence and, while she was opening it, he threw his arms around her neck, and kissed her. We mention this as one instance out of many of his pleasantries.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, most of the principal citizens went some days' journey to meet him; but Antony met with the most distinguished

* *Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. x. ep. 10.*

reception, and had the honour to ride with Cæsar in the same chariot. After them came Brutus, Albinus, and Octavius, the son of Cæsar's niece, who was afterwards called Augustus Cæsar, and for many years was emperor of Rome. Cæsar being created consul for the fifth time, chose Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the consulship in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. Antony, notwithstanding, opposed this measure, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuse; and Cæsar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds was against the measure.* Thus Cæsar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his disappointment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony; for when both were accused of designs against him, he said, contemptuously enough, "It is not these fat sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean." By which he meant Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæsar, in a triumphal habit, sat on the rostrum to see the race. On this occasion many of the young nobility, and the magistracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, as in sport, every one they meet. Antony was of the number; but, regardless of the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, run to the rostrum, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Cæsar, intimating, thereby, the conveyance of regal power. Cæsar, however, seemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony persisted in his design; and for some time there was a contest between them, while he that offered the diadem had the applause of

his friends, and he that refused it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough, while the Romans endured everything that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king as destructive of their liberty. Cæsar was much concerned at this transaction; and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his statues, but the tribunes took it off;† upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Cæsar showed that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office. The enterprise of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encouragement from these circumstances. To the rest of their friends, whom they had selected for the purpose, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him. He informed them that, in their journey to meet Cæsar, he had been generally with him; that he had sounded him on this business by hints, which, though cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expressed his disapprobation, though he never betrayed the secret. Upon this it was proposed that Antony should fall at the same time with Cæsar; but Brutus opposed it. An action, undertaken in support of justice and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in respect of his personal valour, and the influence of his office; and it was agreed, that when Cæsar was in the house, and they were on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused without by some pretended discourse of business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Cæsar was slain, Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave; but after he found that the conspirators were assembled in the capitol, and had no further designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and sent his

* He had this power by virtue of his office as augur

† *Triluni plebis, Epidius Marcellus, cæsetiusque Flavius coronæ fasciam detraxi, hominemque duci in vincula jussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem, sine, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriâ recusândi, tribunos graviter increpitatos potestate privavit.* SUET.

son to them as a hostage. That night Cassius supped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should be passed; and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and Cassius. The senate confirmed this, and, at the same time, ratified the acts of Cæsar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in this difficult affair with the highest reputation; and, by saving Rome from a civil war, he proved himself a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise and moderate counsels; and from his influence with the people, he felt that, if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man in Rome. With this view, when Cæsar's body was exposed in the *forum*, he undertook the customary funeral oration; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceased, he endeavoured still more to excite their compassion, by all that was pitiable or aggravating in the massacre. For this purpose, in the close of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body and held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; nor did he hesitate, at the same time to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers. This had such an effect upon the people that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the *forum*, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly discharged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, the relict of Cæsar, entrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to four thousand talents. All Cæsar's papers, which contained a particular account of his designs, were likewise delivered up to him. Of these he made a very ingenious use; for, by inserting in them what names he thought proper, he made some of his friends magistrates, and others senators, some he recalled from exile, and others he dismissed from prison, on pretence that all these things were so ordered by Cæsar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called

Charonites,* because, to support their title, they had recourse to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, was absolute. He was consul himself; his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs when Octavius, who was the son of Cæsar's niece, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle was killed. He first visited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and spoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of seventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him at first; and told him, it would be madness for an unexperienced young man, without friends, to take upon him so important an office as that of being executor to Cæsar.

Octavius, however, was not to be thus repulsed. He still insisted on the money, and Antony, on the other hand, did every thing to mortify and affront him. He opposed him in his application for the tribuneship; and when he made use of the golden chair, which had been granted by the senate to his uncle,† he threatened that unless he desisted to solicit the people, he would commit him to prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero and the rest of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an interest in the senate: when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran soldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate, and for this purpose gave him a meeting in the capitol.

An accommodation took place, but it was soon destroyed; for that night Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderstruck; and in a few days after he was informed that Octavius had a design on his life. The latter would have justified himself, but was not believed; so that, of course, the

* The slaves who were enfranchised by the last will of their masters, were likewise called *Charonites*.

† The senate had decreed to Cæsar the privilege of using a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious stones in all the theatres. Dion. l. xliv.

breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over to Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other, in securing, by rewards and promises, the old troops that were in different quarters, and such legions as were still on foot.

Cicero, who had then considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed on the senate to declare him a public enemy; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa the consuls to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena, and Cæsar was present at the battle. Both the consuls were slain, but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him a school of moral improvement; and Antony in adversity, was almost a man of virtue. Indeed it is common for men under misfortunes to have a clear idea of their duty; but a change of conduct is not always the consequence. On such occasions they too often fall back into their former manners, through the inactivity of reason, and infirmity of mind; but Antony was even a pattern for his soldiers; from all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readiness to drink a little stinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the desert. Nay, it is said, that they ate the very bark of the trees; and that, in passing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps; and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he came within a small distance of him he encamped; but receiving no encouragement, he resolved to hazard all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not shaven since his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the

consequence, ordered the trumpets to sound that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers; so that they sent Lælius and Clodius in the dress of those ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to assure Antony, that, if he had resolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he should desire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the satisfaction to see Lepidus's soldiers all the while stretching out their hands to him, and making way through the intrenchments.

When he had possessed himself of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He saluted him by the name of father; and though, in reality, everything was in his own power, he secured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a considerable force at no great distance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with seventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thousand horse; beside these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotyton*.*

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to restore the liberties of the commonwealth, soon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met, together with Lepidus, in a small river island,† where the conference lasted three days. The empire of the world was divided amongst them like a paternal inheritance, and this they found no difficulty in settling; but whom they should kill and whom they should spare, it was not so easy to adjust, while each was for saving his respective friends, and putting to death his enemies; at length their resentment against the latter over-

* From a half pint bumper; a Greek measure so called.

† In the Rhine, not far from Bologna.

came their kindness for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony, and Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus. Though others say, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them,* though they had required him to put him to death himself. I believe there never was anything so atrocious, or so execrably savage as this commerce of murder; for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired it might be confirmed by some alliance; and Cæsar, therefore, was to marry Claudia the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as this was determined, they marked down such as they intended to put to death, the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was slain Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and when they were presented him, he laughed, and exulted at the sight. After he was satiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *rostra* in the *forum*; but this insult on the dead was, in fact, an abuse of his own good fortune and the power it had placed in his hands.† When his uncle Lucius Cæsar was pursued by his murderers, he fled for refuge to his sister; and when the pursuers had broken into the house, and were forcing their way into his chamber, she placed herself at the door, and, stretching forth her hands, she cried, "You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar till you have first killed me, the mother of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

* The former English translator ought not to have omitted this; because it somewhat softens at least the character of Lepidus, who was certainly the least execrable villain of the three.

† Were there any circumstance in Antony's life that could be esteemed an instance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this case would prove that such a circumstance was merely accidental.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans; but Antony bore the greater blame; for he was not only older than Cæsar, and more powerful than Lepidus, but when he was no longer under difficulties, he fell back into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and dissolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the house of Pompey the Great, a man no less distinguished by his temperance and modesty than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to see these doors shut with insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors; while they were open to players, jugglers, and sottish sycophants, on whom he spent the greatest part of those treasures he had amassed by rapine. Indeed the triumvirate were by no means scrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those who had been proscribed, and, by false accusations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened the people with insupportable impositions; and being informed that large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of vestals, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army too was divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius; and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite to Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts were still successful. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus; his camp was taken, and he narrowly escaped by flight; though, in his Commentaries, he tells us, that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle.‡ Cassius was defeated by Antony, and yet there are those, too, who say, that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined in the pursuit afterwards; as Cassius knew nothing of the success

‡ See the life of Brutus.

of Brutus, he was killed at his own earnest entreaty, by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon after in which Brutus was defeated, and in consequence of that slew himself. Cæsar happened at that time to be sick, and the honour of this victory likewise of course fell to Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius so much to Brutus as to Hortensius, for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed, that he had not burned the robe with the body, and that he had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be slain. After this victory, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were absolutely necessary, when a gratuity of five thousand drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at first very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece; but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians, vying with the Athenians in exhibiting something curious, invited him to see their senate-house; and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them it was little and ruinous. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; when he had enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when

his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contending for his favour by their beauty and munificence then, whilst Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama, who far outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches of Italy; these were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder; and Asia, in some measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles,* and was at once filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, songs, and groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus:—

—“Bacchus! ever kind and free!”

And such, indeed, he was to some; but to others he was savage and severe. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead, who were still living; and commissions were given to his knaves for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a Magnesian citizen for dressing one supper to his taste; but when he laid a double impost on Asia, Hybrias, the agent for the people, told him, with a pleasantry that was agreeable to his humour, that, “If he doubled the taxes, he ought to double the seasons too, and supply the people with two summers and two winters.” He added, at the same time with a little more asperity, that, “As Asia had already raised two hundred thousand talents, if he had not received it, he should demand it of those who had; but,” said he, “if you received it, and yet have it not, we are undone.” This touched him sensibly, for he was ignorant of many things that were transacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unsuspecting. He

* Sophocles, *Œd. Sc. 1.*

had a simplicity in his nature, without much penetration; but when he found that faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest concern and acknowledgment to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and severe in his punishments; but the excess was rather in the former than in the latter. The insulting raillery of his conversation carried its remedy along with it, for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the same good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that those who treated him with freedom in conversation would not be insincere in business. He did not perceive that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; that they used it as a kind of poignant sauce to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with him at table, they knew well that, when they complied with his opinions in business, he would not think it the effect of complaisance, but a conviction of his superior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleams of remaining virtue. It began in this manner:—When he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that she might answer some accusations which had been laid against her of assisting Cassius in the war. Dellius, who went on this message, no sooner observed the beauty and address of Cleopatra, than he concluded that such a woman, far from having anything to apprehend from the resentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and solicited her to go, as Homer says, “in her best attire,”* into Cilicia; assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the most courtly general in the world. Induced by his invitation, and in the confidence of that beauty which had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and

young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of the conquest of Antony. When Cæsar and Pompey had her favours, she was young and unexperienced; but she was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the understanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with such treasures, ornaments, and presents, as were suitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her personal charms, she set off for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, she held him in such contempt, that she by no means took the most expeditious method of travelling. She sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were silver. These, in their motion, kept time to the music of flutes and pipes and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship; while boys, like painted Cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty, and, habited like the Nereids and the Graces, assisted in the steerage and conduct of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense was diffused along the shores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to see it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was soon spread, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus for the benefit of Asia. Antony sent to invite her to supper; but she thought it his duty to wait upon her, and to show his politeness on her arrival; he complied. He was astonished at the magnificence of the preparations; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures that they afforded one of the most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was soon convinced that he came short.

* Hom. Il. xiv. l. 162. It is thus that Juno proposes to meet Jupiter, when she has a particular design of inspiring him with love.

of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his treat. As she found that Antony's humour favoured more of the camp than of the court, she fell into the same coarse vein, and played upon him without the least reserve. Such was the variety of her powers in conversation; her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable; but it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulation as an instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was so wholly engrossed with her charms, that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the veteran warrior fell into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at the shrine of *luxury*, what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, *the sacrifice of time*. This mode of life they called *the inimitable*. They visited each other alternately every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that, being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, beside an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild boars roasting whole; and expressed his surprise at the number of the company for whom this enormous provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said, that the company did not exceed twelve; but that, as every dish was to be roasted

to a single turn, and as Antony was uncertain as to the time when he would sup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle or an extraordinary vein of conversation was going round, it was necessary to have a succession of suppers. Philotas added, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him when he did not sup with his father; and it once happened that, when another physician at table had tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced him with the following sophism:—*There are some degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man; every man who has a fever, has it in some degree; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever*. The impertinent was struck dumb with this syllogism; and Antony's son, who laughed at his distress, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent side-board of plate, said, "All that, Philotas, is yours!" Philotas acknowledged the kind offer, but thought it too much for such a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a servant brought the plate to him in a chest, that he might put his seal upon it, he refused, and, indeed, was afraid to accept it. Upon which the servant said, "What are you afraid of? Do not you consider that this is a present from the son of Antony, who could easily give you its weight in gold? However, I would recommend it to you to take the value of it in money. In this plate there may be some curious pieces of ancient workmanship that Antony may set a value on." Such are the anecdotes which my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's four kinds of flattery.* She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay or the serious humour, still she had something ready for his amusement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him. In his night rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jests upon them, she attended him in the habit of a servant, which he also, on such occasions affected to wear. From these

* Plato, Gorgias.

expeditions he frequently returned a sufferer both in person and character. But though some of the Alexandrians were displeased with this whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, and said, "That Antony presented his comic parts in Alexandria, and reserved the tragic for Rome." To mention all his follies would be too trifling; but his fishing story must not be omitted. He was fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace; he, therefore, ordered one of the assistants to dive and put on his hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success; expressed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to see fresh proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel was crowded with people; and as soon as Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth amongst the spectators. "Go, general!" said Cleopatra, "leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces."*

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages; one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long dissensions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that even this roused him from his lethargy; but waking at length, and, literally, waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded

as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy with two hundred ships. Such of his friends as had fled from thence he received; and from these he learned, that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord; and, on this occasion, it was abetted by jealousy, for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sydon, in her progress to meet her husband.

This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæsar; for when Antony came to Italy, and Cæsar expressed no resentment against him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia; their respective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The east, within the boundaries of the Ionian sea, was given to Antony; the western provinces to Cæsar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the consulship themselves, they were to dispose of it as they thought proper, in their turns.

After these matters were settled, they thought of means to secure this union which fortune had set on foot. Cæsar had a sister older than himself named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancaria; Cæsar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this sister, for she was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus, but a little before this had buried her husband; and, as Antony had lost his wife, there was an opening for a fresh union. His connexion with Cleopatra he did not affect to deny; but he absolutely denied that he was married to her; and, in this circumstance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was universally wished. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire such an influence over Antony as might, in the end, be salutary to the state. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to solemnize the nuptials at Rome; and the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months

* This expression of Cleopatra's has something of the same turn with that passage in Virgil—

*Excudent aili spirantia mollius æra !
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

after the decease of her husband was dispensed with by the senate.

Sextus, the son of Pompey, who was then in possession of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to pass. He had been favourable, notwithstanding, to Antony; for he had given a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and, for this purpose, a meeting was held at the promontory of Misenum by the mole that runs into the sea. Pompey was attended by his fleet; Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was settled, that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When these things were determined, they mutually invited each other to supper; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the first entertainment. When Antony asked him where they should sup: "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley of six oars, "that is the only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey;" and it implied, at the same time, a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship that rode at anchor. During the entertainment, while the raillery ran briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey, and told him secretly, that, if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that he should have done it without consulting him. "We must now let it alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public administration were con-

ducted with the greatest harmony between him and Octavius; and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon himself the office of high-priest to Cæsar the dictator. But, alas! in their contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his house a fortune-telling gipsy, who was skilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony, that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him, by all means, to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his: when it is alone, its port is erect and fearless; when his approaches, it is dejected and depressed. Indeed, there were many circumstances that seemed to justify the conjurer's doctrine: for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots, or cast the die, Antony was still the loser. In their cock fights and quail fights, it was still Cæsar's cock and Cæsar's quail. These things, co-operating with the conjurer's observations, had such an effect on Antony, that he gave up the management of his domestic affairs to Cæsar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learned that his affairs in Asia, under Ventidius, were successful; that the Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharnapates, the ablest generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnastic games, in which he took the master's part himself. The robes and ensigns of the general were laid aside; the rods, the cloak, and the slippers of the Gymnasiarch were assumed; and when the combatants had fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown of the sacred olive; and, by the direction of some oracle or other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra.* In the meantime, Paco-

* The Clepsydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens; so called, because

rus, son of the king of Parthia, made an incursion into Syria, but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrrhestica, and, with the greatest part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius would not pursue the Parthians any farther, for fear of exciting the envy of Antony; he therefore turned his arms against the revolters, and brought them back to their duty. Amongst these was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he besieged in the city of Samosata. That prince at first offered to pay a thousand talents, and to submit himself to the Roman empire; upon which Ventidius told him, that he must send proposals to Antony, for he was then at no great distance; and he had not commissioned Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, that something at least might be done by himself. But while the siege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that despair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the besiegers; and Antony was at last reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting three hundred talents.

After he had done some little towards settling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius to Rome, to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obscure, but his connexions with Antony brought him into great appointments; and, by making the best use of them, he confirmed what was said of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they were more successful by their lieutenants, than when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be justified by the success of Sossius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria; and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country, and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's

name and power through those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some disagreeable reports concerning the designs or the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ships; and, being refused the harbour of Brundisium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to send her to her brother; and she was fortunate enough to meet with him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Mæcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him to consider the peculiarity of her situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the most unfortunate. "The eyes of all," said she, "are necessarily turned on me, who am the wife of Antony, and the sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the whole in war, whatever may be the event, it will be unhappy for me." Cæsar was softened by the entreaties of his sister, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general satisfaction to the people. They were pleased to see such an army on the shore, and such a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual disposition for peace; and nothing but compliments and expressions of kindness passing between the generals. Antony first invited Cæsar to sup with him, and, in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed, that Cæsar should give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian service; and that Antony, in return, should leave a hundred armed galleys with Cæsar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony to give up twenty light ships to Cæsar, and procured from her brother a thousand foot for her husband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection his wife and his children, both by the present and the former marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had so long been dormant in his heart, and which better counsels seemed totally to have suppressed, revived again, and took pos-

It was sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty.

session of his soul. The unruly steed, to which Plato * compares certain passions, once more broke loose, and in spite of honour, interest, and prudence, Antony sent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival he made her the most magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that district of Judæa which produces the balm, and that part of Arabia Nabathea which lies upon the ocean. These extravagant gifts were disagreeable to the Romans; for, though he had often conferred on private persons considerable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the first king that ever suffered in such a manner;† yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans as his enormous profusion in favour of that woman. Nor were they less offended at his giving the surnames of the sun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the most disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility, by leaving children and successors born of different princesses; that his ancestor Hercules trusted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon; but, by various connexions with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates,‡ who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs

fled to Antony; and among the rest, Moneses, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Moneses, in his fortune, resembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was before called Bombyce. But when Phraates sent Moneses assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the prisoners as still survived, might be restored. He sent Cleopatra into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia; where, as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had several princes in alliance with him, but Artavases, king of Armenia, was the most powerful; for he furnished six thousand horse, and seven thousand foot. At this review there appeared sixty thousand Roman foot, and ten thousand horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thousand.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience to return and spend the winter in her arms, made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment, can only act as the impulse of the magic directs him, his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of a thousand miles. In the early part of the spring, he should have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison: but his impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia on the left, he passed through the province of Atro-

* Plutarch here alludes to that passage in Plato, where he compares the soul to a winged chariot, with two horses and a charioteer. One of these horses is mischievous and unruly; the other gentle and tractable. The charioteer is reason; the unruly horse denotes the concupiscent, and the tractable horse the irascible part. PLATO, *Phæd.*

† Dion tells us, that Antigonus was first tied to a stake and whipped; and that afterwards his throat was cut.

‡ The same Phraates that Horace mentions. *Redditi Cyri solio Phraatem.* Lib. iii. ode 2.

patene, and laid waste the country. In his haste, he left behind him the battering engines, amongst which was a ram eighty feet long, and these followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had any damage happened to these, it would have been impossible to repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is no timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Statianus; and, in the meantime, he laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind; for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mount against the wall; and that required considerable time and labour.

In the meantime, Phraates came up with a numerous army; and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he sent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with ten thousand of his men, were slain upon the spot. Many were taken prisoners, among whom was king Polemo; and the machines were seized by the enemy, and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army; and Artavasdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in despair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their success, came up with the Romans while they were employed in the siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that despair and timidity would be the consequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of cavalry, on the business of foraging. He was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progress, he observed the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity to fall upon him in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the signal for battle; but, at the same time, struck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight, but to retire. Accordingly he passed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a crescent: but he

had previously given orders to the horse to charge the enemy, full speed, as soon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were struck with astonishment at the order of the Roman army, when they observed them pass at regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

When the signal was given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they were too close in with them for the use of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their shouts, and the clashing of their arms, so frightened the enemy's horses, that they were no longer manageable; and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony pursued them closely, in hopes that this action would, in a great measure, terminate the war; but when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at least a hundred and fifty, he found that he had not slain above eighty of the enemy, and that thirty only were taken prisoners. Thus, the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was a fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they met with some straggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and at last with the whole body, which having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed them in such a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally; and those who were left to defend the mount, had quitted their post, and fled. Antony at his return punished the fugitives by decimation. That is, he divided them into tens; and, in each division, put one to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Those that escaped had their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible slaughter of his men; and Phraates, who knew the

temper of the Parthians, was apprehensive, that, if the Romans persisted in carrying on the siege, as soon as the autumnal equinox was passed, and the winter set in he should be deserted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had recourse to stratagem; he ordered his officers not to pursue the Romans too close when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off provisions. He commanded them, at the same time, to compliment them on their valour; and to express his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were instructed, likewise, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obstinacy of Antony, which exposed so many brave men to the severities of famine and a winter campaign, who must suffer of course, notwithstanding all the Parthians could do for them, while Phraates sought for nothing more than peace, though he was still defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on these reports, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms before he was satisfied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy assured him that such were the sentiments of Phraates; and, being induced to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand the standards and the prisoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Crassus; for he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleased with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered, that the standards and prisoners could not be restored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in safety.

After some few days had been spent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occasion, though he had the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them to every situation and event; yet, whether it was through shame, or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt; but the greater part understood the cause, and, pitying their general, paid him still greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his route through a plain and open country, but a certain Mardian, who was well

acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this; he would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to, and yet, he could not but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country; at last, he required the necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in suffering himself to be bound till he should have conducted the army into Armema. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days; but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward in disorderly security, the Mardian, observing the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to pass, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and advised Antony to be on his guard, for the enemy, he said, was at no great distance. Whilst Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing such of them as were armed with darts and slings to make a sally against the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and, by surrounding his army, harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incursion upon them, and, galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they soon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them; so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found what measures he was to take, and covering both wings and the rear with such troops as were armed with missive weapons, his army marched in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to pursue them to any great distance.

The Parthians, of course, when in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, and found themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and, finding an excuse in the winter season, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requested Antony, that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front; and with these he proposed to perform some considerable exploit. These he obtained, and in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not, like the rest, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. When the officers of the rear observed that he was separated from the rest, they sent to recall him, but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quæstor turned back the standard, and inveighed against Gallus for leading so many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commanding those who were about him to stand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front than he was surrounded. In this distress he sent for assistance; and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongst the rest, committed a most capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, as soon as one detachment was overpowered, they sent another to its support; and thus, by degrees, they would have sacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come hastily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action no fewer than three thousand were slain, and five thousand brought back wounded to the camp; amongst the last was Gallus, who had four arrows shot through his body, and soon after died of his wounds. Antony visited all that had suffered on this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection; while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, en-

treated him not to attend to their sufferings, but to his own health and quiet: "While our general is safe, all," said they, "is well." It is certain that there was not in those days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, stout, able, and willing to endure the greatest toils. Their respect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful. Not a man in the army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and safety. In all these respects they were at least equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of causes, as we have observed, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleasantries of his conversation. These were the general cause of the affection he found in his army; and, on this particular occasion, his sympathising with the wounded and attending to their wants made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before began to languish in their operations, were so much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in such contempt, that they even spent the night by their camp, in hopes of seizing the baggage while they deserted their tents. At break of day numbers more came up to the amount, as it is said, of forty thousand horse: for the Parthian king had sent even his body-guard, so confident was he of absolute victory; as to himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony being now to address his soldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his speech might be more affecting; but as his friends would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those that had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themselves either to decimation or any other kind of punishment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, entreated him to forego his sorrow and concern. Upon this he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that

his army might be safe and victorious."

The day following they marched out in better and firmer order, and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in fresh spirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows as they were marching slowly forward. Against these attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their shields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation; so that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans rested on their knees only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, cut to pieces those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progress in their march, and were, besides, distressed for want of provisions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn they could get was but little, and even that they had not instruments to grind. The greatest part of them had been left behind; for many of their beasts of burden were dead, and many were employed in carrying the sick and wounded. It is said that a bushel of wheat, Attic measure, was sold for fifty drachmas, and a barley loaf for its weight in silver. Those who sought for roots and pot-herbs found few that they had been accustomed to eat, and in tasting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madness and death. He that had eaten of it immediately lost all memory and knowledge; but at the same time, would busy himself in turning and moving every stone he met with, as if he was upon some very important pursuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and re-

moving stones, till at last they were carried off by a bilious vomiting; when wine,* the only remedy,† was not to be had. Thus, while numbers perished, and the Parthians still continued to harass them, Antony is said frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thousand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way,‡ and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in safety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into disorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, began once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They showed them their bows unstrung, and informed them that they had given up the pursuit, and were going to depart. A few Medes they said, might continue the route a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpose was to protect some of the remoter villages. These professions were accompanied with many kind salutations; insomuch that the Romans conceived fresh hopes and spirits; and because the way over the mountains was to be destitute of water, Antony once more was desirous of taking his route through the plains. When he was going to put this scheme in execution, one Mithridates, cousin to that Moneses who had formerly sought his protection, and being presented by him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and desired he might be permitted to speak with some person that understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's went out to him, and after the Parthian had informed him who he was, and attributed his coming to the kindness of Moneses, he asked him whether he did not see at a great distance before him a range of high hills. "Un-

* The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy against vomiting. *Præterea vomitiones sistit.* PLIN. Nat Hist. l. xxiii. c. 1.

† It was likewise esteemed good against many kinds of poison. *Merum est contra cicutum, Aconita et omnia quæ refrigerant remedium.* Ibid.

‡ When Plutarch says that Xenophon led his ten thousand a longer way, he must mean to terminate Antony's march with Armenia.

der those hill," said he, "the whole Parthian army lies in ambuscade for you; for at the foot of the mountains there is a spacious plain, and there, when deluded by their artifices, you have left the way over the heights, they expect to find you. In the mountain roads, indeed, you have thirst and toil to contend with as usual; but should Antony take the plains, he must expect the fate of Crassus."

After he had given this information, he departed; and Antony on the occasion assembled a council, and amongst the rest his Mardian guide, who concurred with the directions of the Parthian. The way over the plains he said was hardly practicable, were there no enemy to contend with, the windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged way over the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it than to endure thirst for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and ordering each man to take water along with him, took the mountain road by night. As there was not a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to custom, pursued him in the night. About sunrise they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching, for that night they had travelled thirty miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and, being at once obliged to fight and continue their march, their thirst became still more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but being salt and acrimonious, it occasioned a pain in the stomach and bowels that had been heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the stream. Antony, running amongst the ranks, entreated them to forbear but a little. He told them that there was another river at no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety; and the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat

to call off such as were engaged with the enemy, and gave the signal for pitching their tents, that they might at least have the convenience of shade.

While their tents were fixing and the Parthians, as usual, retiring from the pursuit, Mithridates came again, and Alexander being sent out to him, he advised that the Romans, after a little rest, should rise and make for the river, because the Parthians did not propose to carry their pursuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being presented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, struck his tents, and marched unmolested by the enemy; but so dreadful a night as followed he had never passed. Those who were known to be possessed of gold or silver were slain and plundered, and the money that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of; last of all, Antony's baggage was seized, and the richest bowls and tables were cut asunder and divided amongst the plunderers. The greatest terror and distraction ran through the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occasioned this flight and confusion. Antony sent for one of his freedmen called Rhamnus, and made him swear that he would stab him and cut off his head, whenever he should command him, that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him some encouragement, by telling him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive by the cool freshness of the air that issued from it, and that, of course, the troubles of his journey would soon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the same time he was informed that all these disorders had been occasioned by the avarice of the soldiers, and he therefore ordered the signal for encamping, that he might rectify his disordered army.*

* Plutarch does not in this place appear to be sufficiently informed. The cause of this tumult in the army could not be the avarice of the soldiers only, since that might have operated long before, and at that time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their

It was now daylight, and as soon as the troops were brought to a little order, the Parthians once more began to harass the rear. The signal was, therefore, given to the light troops to engage, and the heavy-armed received the arrows under a roof of shields as before. The Parthians, however, durst not come any more to close engagement, and when the front had advanced a little farther, the river was in sight. Antony first drew up the cavalry on the bank to carry over the weak and wounded. The combat was now over, and the thirsty could enjoy their water in quiet. At sight of the river the Parthians unstrung their bows, and, with the highest encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies pass over in peace. They did so, and after the necessary refreshments, proceeded on their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praise or professions. Within six days from the last battle they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and strength of its current, seemed difficult to pass, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army that the enemy was there in ambuscade, to attack them as they forded it. However they passed over in safety, and when they set foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they first come on shore, they kissed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleasure that could only express itself in tears. The ill consequences of their former extremities, however, discovered themselves even here; for as they now passed through a country of plenty and profusion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropsy and the colic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, more than half of which had not died in battle but by sickness. They had been

object now was the preservation of life; and it was not wealth but water that they wanted. We must look for the cause of this disorder then in some other circumstance; and that probably was the report of their general's despair, or possibly of his death; for otherwise, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The fidelity and affection they had shown him in all their distresses, afford a sufficient argument on his behalf.

twenty-seven days in their return from Phraata, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but these victories were by no means complete, because they could not prosecute their advantages by pursuit.

Hence it is evident that Artavasdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition; for had he been assisted by the sixteen thousand horse which he took with him out of Media (who were armed like the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them, after the Romans had beaten them in set battles, this cavalry might have taken up the pursuit, and harassed them in such a manner, that they could not so often have rallied and returned to the charge; all, therefore, were exciting Antony to revenge himself on Artavasdes; but he followed better counsels, and in his present weak and indigent condition, he did not think proper to withhold the usual respect and honours he had paid him. But when he came into Armenia on another occasion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promises and invitations, he seized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in a triumphal procession. The Romans were offended at this triumph and at Antony, who had thus transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt for the gratification of Cleopatra. These things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The severity of the winter and perpetual snows were so destructive to the troops that, in his march, he lost eight thousand men. Accompanied by a small party he went down to the sea-coast, and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon called the *White Hair*, he waited for Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourse to festivity and intoxication; and he would frequently, over his cups, start up from his seat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach; at length she came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some however have asserted, that she brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony supplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of

the Medes, occasioned, as it is said, by the division of the Roman spoils, and the latter was apprehensive of losing his kingdom. He therefore sent to Antony an offer of his assistance against the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here seem rather to confer than receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, to renew the war.

Octavia, who was still at Rome, now expressed a desire of visiting Antony, and Cæsar gave her his permission, not according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that the ill treatment and neglect which he concluded she should meet with might give him a pretence for renewing the war. When she arrived at Athens, she received letters from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. These letters mortified her, for she suspected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretence; however, she wrote to him, and desired he would send his commands where she should leave the presents she had brought. These presents consisted of clothing for the army, beasts of burden, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Beside these, she had brought two thousand picked men, fully equipped and armed for the general's cohort. Octavia sent this letter by Niger, a friend of Antony's, who did not fail to pay her the compliments she deserved, but represented her to Antony in the most agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehensive that if she came to Antony, the respectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and interest of Cæsar, would carry off her husband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of Antony, and to give a colour to her pretence, she emaciated herself by abstinence. At his approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprise, and when he left her, she put on the look of languishment and dejection. Sometimes she would endeavour to weep, and then, as if she wished to hide the tears from her tender Antony she affected to wipe them off unseen.

Antony was all this while preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures and dependants did not fail to reproach his unfeeling heart, which could suffer the woman whose life was wrapped up in his, to die for his sake. Octavia's marriage, they said, was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her that she had the honour of being called his wife. Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress; yet even with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content; but of that society, whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life. These insinuations so totally unmanned him, that, through fear of Cleopatra's putting an end to her life, he returned to Egypt, and put off the Mede till summer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were said to be in a seditious and disorderly situation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into an alliance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of his who was very young, returned, that he might attend to the civil war.

When Octavia returned from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the treatment she had met with as a mark of the greatest contempt, and he therefore ordered her to retire and live alone. However, she refused to quit her husband's house, and moreover entreated Cæsar by no means to have recourse to arms merely on her account. It would be infamous, she said, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealousy. By her own conduct she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's house, and took the same care of his children, as well those that he had by Fulvia as her own, that she could possibly have taken, had he been present. Antony's friends, who were sent to Rome to solicit honours or transact business, she kindly entertained, and used her best offices with Cæsar to obtain what they requested. Yet even by this conduct she was hurting Antony, contrary to her inclination. His injurious treatment of such a woman excited a general indignation; and the distribution he had made to his children in Alexandria, carried with it

something so imperious and so disparaging to the Romans, that it increased that indignation not a little. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious. He summoned the people to the place of public exercise, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, beside lower seats for the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cœlosyria, and nominated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar the dictator, her colleague. The sons she had by him he entitled kings of kings, and to Alexander he gave Armenia and Media, together with Parthia, when it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress, with the turban and tiara; and Ptolemy in the long cloak and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dressed like the successors of Alexander; the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children saluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra on this, and on other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis,* and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the *New Isis*.

Cæsar expatiated on these things in the senate, and by frequent accusations, incensed the people against Antony. Antony did not fail to recriminate by his deputies. In the first place he charged Cæsar with wresting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not dividing it with him. His next charge was, that Cæsar had never returned the ships he had borrowed of him; a third, that after reducing his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he had taken to himself his army, his province, and his tributes; lastly, that he had distributed almost all the lands in Italy among his own soldiers, and had left nothing for his. To these Cæsar made answer, that Lepidus was reduced from an incapacity of sustaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide

with Antony, and at the same time he expected to share Armenia with him, that his soldiers had no right to lands in Italy, because Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony being informed of these things in Armenia, immediately sent Canidius to the seacoast with sixteen legions. In the meantime he went to Ephesus, attended by Cleopatra. There he assembled his fleet, which consisted of eight hundred ships of burden, whereof Cleopatra furnished two hundred, beside twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and some other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, apprehensive that a reconciliation might take place, through the mediation of Octavia, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her interest. She prevailed on him to represent to Antony, that it was unreasonable to refuse so powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being present at the war; that her presence was even necessary to animate and encourage the Egyptians, who made so considerable a part of his naval force; nor was Cleopatra, in point of abilities, inferior to any of the princes his allies; since she had not only been a long time at the head of a considerable kingdom, but by her intercourse with him had learned the administration of the greatest affairs. These remonstrances, as the Fates had decreed every thing for Cæsar, had the desired effect, and they sailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every species of luxury. For at the same time that the kings, governors, states, and provinces between Syria, the Mæotis, Armenia, and Lauria,* were commanded to send their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and musicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and while almost the whole world beside was venting its anguish in groans and tears, that island alone was

* This robe was of all colours, to signify the universality of the goddess's influence. The robe of Osiris was of one colour only.

* As a mountain of no note in Attica does not seem proper to be mentioned with great kingdoms and provinces, it is supposed that we ought to read *Illyria* instead of *Lauria*. Illyria is afterwards mentioned as the boundary of Antony's dominions on that side.

piping and dancing. The several cities sent oxen for sacrifice, and kings contended in the magnificence of their presents and entertainments; so that it was natural to say, "What kind of figure will these people make in their triumph, when their very preparations for war are so splendid!"

When these things were over, he gave Priene for the residence of the players and musicians, and sailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when she was at Athens, with the highest respect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours she had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return decreed her public honours, and sent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himself, in character of a citizen of Athens, and he was prolocutor on the occasion.

In the meantime he sent some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome. When she left it, it is said she took with her all his children, (except the eldest by Fulvia, who attended him), and deplored the severity of her fate with tears, under the apprehension that she would be looked upon as one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her sufferings, but still more the folly of Antony, particularly such as had seen Cleopatra; for she was by no means preferable to Octavia, either on account of her youth or beauty.

When Cæsar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that summer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almost everything, and the levies of money occasioned a general dissatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one-fourth of their income, and the sons of freedmen one-eighth. This occasioned the greatest clamour and confusion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great oversight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable delays he gave Cæsar an opportunity both to complete his preparations, and appease the minds of the people. When the money was demanded, they murmured

and mutinied; but after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-used by Cleopatra, on account of their opposing her stay in the army, abandoned him, and went over to Cæsar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they presently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the vestals; and when Cæsar demanded it, they refused to send it; adding, that if he was determined to have it, he must come and take it himself. Accordingly he went and took it. First of all he read it over to himself, and remarked such passages as were most liable to censure. Afterwards he read it in the senate, and this gave a general offence.* It seemed to the greatest part an absurd and unprecedented thing, that a man should suffer in his life for what he had ordered to be done after his death. Cæsar dwelt particularly on the orders he had given concerning his funeral; for in case he died at Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in procession through the *forum*, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calvisius, a retainer of Cæsar's, also accused him of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamenian library, which consisted of two hundred thousand volumes; and added, that once, when they supped in public, Antony rose and trode on Cleopatra's foot, by way of signal for some rendezvous. He asserted, moreover, that he suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra sovereign; and that when he was presiding at the administration of public affairs, attended by several tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her enclosed in onyx and crystal, and there perused them. Besides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity, and one of the ablest of the Roman orators, was speaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the *forum* in a litter; upon which Antony immediately started up, and no longer paying his attention to the cause, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calvisius, in these accusations, was, nevertheless, sus-

* This was an act of most injurious violence. Nothing could be more sacred than a will deposited in the hands of the vestals.

pected. The friends of Antony solicited the people in his behalf, and despatched Gemini^{us}, one of their number, to put him on his guard against the abrogation of his power, and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Gemini^{us} sailed into Greece, and, on his arrival, was suspected by Cleopatra as an agent of Octavius's. On this account he was contemptuously treated, and the lowest seats were assigned him at the public suppers. This, however, he bore for some time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony; but being publicly called upon to declare the cause of his coming, he answered, "That one part of the cause would require to be communicated at a sober hour, but the other part could not be mistaken, whether a man were drunk or sober; for it was clear that all things would go well, if Cleopatra retired into Egypt." Antony was extremely chagrined; and Cleopatra said, "You have done very well, Gemini^{us}, to confess without being put to the torture." Gemini^{us} soon after withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra, when they could no longer endure their insolence and scurrility. Amongst the rest were Marcus Silanus, and Delius the historian. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra had a design upon his life, as he was told by Glaucus the physician; because he had once affronted her at supper, by saying, that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus was a boy of Cæsar's, one of those creatures whom the Romans call *Deliciæ*.

When Cæsar had made his preparations, it was decreed that war should be declared against Cleopatra; for that Antony could not be said to possess that power which he had already given up to a woman. Cæsar observed, that he was like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himself. It was not he, with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus; Iris, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion; for these had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are said to have happened previous to this war. Pisaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic,

was swallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's statue in Alba was covered with sweat for many days, which returned, though it was frequently wiped off. While he was at Patræ, the temple of Hercules was set on fire by lightning; and at Athens the statue of Bacchus was carried off by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into the theatre. These things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a descendant of Hercules, and an imitator of Bacchus, inasmuch that he was called the younger Bacchus. The same wind threw down the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the rest were unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was called *Antonius*, a terrible phenomenon appeared. Some swallows had built their nests in the stern, and others drove them away, and destroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed vessels, magnificently adorned, and furnished with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, moreover, a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners, were Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Those who did not attend in person, but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, Herod of Judea, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Beside these he had supplies also from the king of the Medes.—Cæsar had two hundred and fifty men of war, eighty thousand foot, and an equal number of horse with the enemy. Antony's dominions lay from the Euphrates and Armenia, to the Ionian sea and Illyria: Cæsar's extended from Illyria to the Western Ocean, and from that again to the Tuscan and Sicilian Sea. He had likewise all that part of Africa which lies opposite to Italy, Gaul and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The rest of that country, from Cyrene to Ethiopia, was in the possession of Antony.

But such a slave was he to the will of a woman, that though much superior at land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy, notwithstanding

that the ships had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to press and pick up in Greece vagrants, ass-drivers, reapers, and boys. Nor could they make up their numbers even with these, but many of the ships were still almost empty. Cæsar's ships, which were not high-built or splendidly set off for show, but tight good sailors, well manned and equipped, continued in the harbour of Tarentum and Brundisium. From thence he sent to Antony, desiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be lost; offering at the same time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty answer, and though he was the older man, challenged Cæsar to single combat; or if he should decline this, he might meet him at Pharsalia, and decide it where Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Cæsar prevented this; for while Antony made for Actium, which is now called Nicopolis, he crossed the Ionian, and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony was distressed on finding this, because he was without his infantry; but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and asked him if it was so very dreadful a thing that Cæsar was got into the *Ladle*.*

Antony, as soon as it was daylight, perceived the enemy making up to him; and fearing that his ill-manned vessels would be unable to stand the attack, he armed the rowers and placed them on the decks to make a show; with the oars suspended on each side of the vessels, he proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Cæsar was deceived by the stratagem and retired. The water about Cæsar's camp was both scarce and bad, and Antony had the address to cut off the little they had.

It was much about this time that, contrary to the inclination of Cleopatra, he acted so generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a small boat and went over to Cæsar; Antony, though he could not but resent this, sent after him his baggage, his friends, and servants, and

Domitius, as if it had been for grief that his treachery was discovered, died very soon after.† Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's fleet was so very unsuccessful, and so unfit for service, that he was obliged at last to think of his land forces; and Canidius, who had been retained in the interest of Cleopatra, now changing his mind, thought it necessary that she should be sent away, and that Antony should retire into Thrace and Macedonia to decide it in the field. These places were thought of the rather, because Dicomus, king of the Getæ, had offered to assist Antony with a large army. To give up the sea to Cæsar, who, in his Sicilian wars, had acquired so much experience upon it, he said, would be no disgrace; but to give up the advantage which so able a general as himself might make of his land forces, and waste the strength of so many legions in useless draughts for the sea service, would be infinitely absurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the decision by sea; though her motive was not the superior chance of victory, but, in case of being vanquished, the better opportunity to escape.

There was a neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he used to go frequently from one to the other. Cæsar was informed by a domestic how easy it might be to seize Antony in this passage, and he sent a party to lie in wait for that purpose. They were so near carrying their point that they seized the person who went before Antony, and had they not been too hasty, he must have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by sea, they set fire to all the Egyptian vessels except sixty. The best and largest ships from three ranks of oars to ten were selected, and these

† Plutarch seems to be ill informed about this matter. It is most probable that Domitius, one of the firmest friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæsar, and that Antony was sensible of this when he sent his attendants after him. It is possible, at the same time, that, when he returned to himself, the sense of his desertion might occasion his death.

* In Greek *Toryne*.

had their proper complement of men, for they were supplied with twenty thousand foot and two thousand archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whose body was covered with scars, cried, pointing to those scars, "Why will you general, distrust these honest wounds, and rest your hopes on those villainous wooden bottoms? Let the Egyptians and the Phœnicians skirmish at sea; but give us at least the land; for there it is we have learned to conquer or to die." Antony made no answer, but seemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head; though at the same time, he had no great confidence himself; for when the pilots would have left the sails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending, indeed, that it should be done to pursue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days the sea ran too high for an engagement; but on the fifth the weather was fine and the sea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Cœlius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeus commanded the centre. Cæsar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himself. Antony's land forces were commanded by Camidius, and Cæsar's remained quiet on the shore, under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themselves, Antony was rowed about in a light vessel, ordering his men on account of the weight of their vessels to keep their ground and fight as steadily as if they were at land. He ordered his pilots to stand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that position to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to avoid the disadvantage of the straits. Cæsar, when he left his tent before day, to review his fleet, met a man who was driving an ass. Upon asking his name, the man answered, my name is *Eutyclus*, and the name of my ass is *Nicon*.* The place where he met him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ships, and there he placed the statue of the ass and his driver in brass. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taking his post in

the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was surprised to find steady and motionless as if it lay at anchor; for some time he was of opinion that it was so, and for that reason he kept back his fleet at the distance of eight furlongs. About noon there was a brisk gale from the sea, and Antony's forces being impatient for the combat, and trusting to the height and bulk of their vessels, which they thought would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Cæsar rejoiced at the sight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open sea, where his light galleys could easily surround the heavy half-manned vessels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violence or impetuosity; for Antony's ships were too heavy for that kind of rapid impression, which, however, is very necessary for the breach of the enemy's vessel. On the other hand, Cæsar's ships durst neither encounter head to head with Antony's, on account of the strength and roughness of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the sides, since by means of their weight they would easily have broken their beaks, which were made of large square pieces of timber fastened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, was like a battle at land, rather than a seafight, or, more properly, like the storming of a town; for there were generally three or more ships of Cæsar's about one of Antony's, assaulting it with pikes javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men out of their wooden towers† threw weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a design to surround the enemy, and Poplicola, in his endeavour to prevent him, was separated from the main body, which threw it into disorder, while at the same time it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius.‡ When things were in this situation, and nothing decisive was yet effected, Cleopatra's sixty ships on sudden hoisted their sails, and fairly

† His ships are so called on account of their tallness.

‡ Arruntius must have commanded Cæsar's centre, though that circumstance is not mentioned.

* Good Fortune and Victory.

took to flight through the midst of the combatants; for they were placed in the rear of the large vessels, and by breaking their way through them they occasioned no small confusion. The enemy saw them with astonishment making their way with a fair wind for the Peloponnesus. Antony, on this occasion, forgot both the general and the man; and as some author has pleasantly observed, *that a lover's soul lives in the body of his mistress, so*, as if he had been absolutely incorporated with her, he suffered her to carry him soul and body away. No sooner did he see her vessel hoisting sail, than forgetting every other object, forgetting those brave friends that were shedding their blood in his cause, he took a five oared galley, and accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian and Scellius, followed her who was the first cause, and now the accomplisher of his ruin. Her own destruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himself in her fate.

When she saw him coming, she put up a signal in her vessel, on which he soon went aboard: neither of them could look each other in the face, and Antony sat down at the head of the ship, where he remained in sombre silence, holding his head between his hands. In the meantime Cæsar's light ships that were in pursuit of Antony, came in sight; upon this he ordered his pilot to tack about and meet them, but they all declined the engagement and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who shook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck, Antony standing at the head of his galley, cried, "Who art thou that thus pursuest Antony?" He answered, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Cæsar to revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's vessel, but fell upon the other admiral galley (for there were two of that rank) and by the shock turned her round. He took that vessel and another which contained Antony's most valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the same pensive posture, and continuing thus for three days, during which, either through shame or resentment,

he refused to see Cleopatra, he arrived at Tanarus. There the women who attended them, first brought them to speak to each other, then to dine together, and not long after, as it may be supposed, to sleep together. At last, several of his transports, and some of his friends who had escaped from the defeat came up with him, and informed him that his fleet was totally destroyed, but that his land forces were yet unhurt. Hereupon he sent orders to Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Asia; as for himself, he determined to sail from Tanarus into Africa, and dividing one ship load of treasure amongst his friends, he desired them to provide for their own safety. They refused the treasure, and expressed their sorrow in tears; while Antony, with the kindest and most humane consolations, entreated them to accept it, and dismissed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them refuge till they could be reconciled to Cæsar. This agent was Theophilus the father of Hipparchus, who had great interest with Antony; but was the first of his freedmen that went over to Cæsar. He afterwards settled at Corinth.

In this posture were the affairs of Antony. After his fleet at Actium had long struggled with Cæsar's, a hard gale which blew right a head of the ships, obliged them to give out about four in the afternoon, about five thousand men were slain in the action, and Cæsar, according to his own account, took three hundred ships. Antony's flight was observed by few, and to those who had not seen it, it was at first incredible. They could not possibly believe that a general, who had nineteen legions and twelve thousand horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune was nothing new, would so basely desert them. His soldiers had an inexpressible desire to see him, and still expecting that he would appear in some part or other, gave the strongest testimony of their courage and fidelity; nay, when they were even convinced that he was irrecoverably fled, they continued embodied for seven days, and would not listen to the ambassadors of Cæsar. At last, however, when Canidius who commanded them fled

from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered to Cæsar.

After this great success, Cæsar sailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and every thing else before the war. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution amongst them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. My great grandfather, Nicarchus, used to relate, that as the inhabitants of Chæronea had no horses, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders to the sea-coast as far as Anticyra, and were driven by soldiers with stripes like so many beasts of burden. This, however, was done but once; for when the corn was measured a second time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this saved the city from further hardships; for the commissaries and soldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to share the corn amongst themselves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy desert, where he wandered up and down, with only two attendants. One of these was Aristocrates the Greek rhetorician; the other was Lucilius, concerning whom it has been mentioned in another place, that to favour the escape of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, he assumed his name, and suffered himself to be taken. Antony saved him, and he was so grateful that he attended him to the last.

When Antony was informed that he who commanded his troops in Lybia was going over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands on himself; but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold enterprise.

Between the Red Sea and the Egyptian, there is an isthmus which divides Asia from Africa, and which, in the narrowest part, is about three hundred furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a design of drawing her galleys over this part into the Red Sea, and purposed with all her wealth and

force to seek some remote country where she might neither be reduced to slavery nor involved in war. However, the first galleys that were carried over, being burned by the Arabians of Petra,* and Antony not knowing that his land forces were dispersed, she gave up this enterprise, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the meantime forsook the city and the society of his friends, and retired to a small house which he had built himself near Pharos, on a mound he had cast up in the sea. In this place, sequestered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there was a resemblance in their fortunes. He had been deserted by his friends, and their ingratitude had put him out of humour with his own species.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is exposed as the hater of mankind. Yet, though he hated mankind in general, he caressed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades, and being asked the reason of this by Apemantus, who expressed some surprise at it, he answered, it was because he foresaw that he would plague the people of Athens. Apemantus was the only one he admitted to his society, and he was his friend in point of principle. At the feast of sacrifices for the dead, these two dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast was excellent, Timon answered, "It would be so if you were not here." Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioned an universal silence and expectation; at length he said, "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves; and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose may repair to it before it is cut down." He

* Dion tells us, that the vessels which were burned were not those that were drawn over the isthmus, but some that had been built on that side. L'b. 51.

was buried at Halæ near the sea, and the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner, that he was even then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on his monument:

At last I've bid the knaves farewell ;
Ask not my name—but go—to hell.

It is said that he wrote this epitaph himself. That which is commonly repeated, was written by Callimachus.

My name is Timon : knaves, begone !
Curse me, but come not near my stone !

These are some of the many anecdotes we have concerning Timon.

Canidius himself brought Antony news of the defection of his army. Soon after he heard that Herod of Judea was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, that several other powers had deserted his interest, and, in short, that he had no foreign assistance to depend upon. None of these things, however, disturbed him ; for, at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat, and returned to Alexandria ; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his usual festivity and munificence. He gave the *toga virilis* to Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's son by Cæsar into the order of young men. The entertainments on this occasion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and lasted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before established a society called the *Inimitable Livers*, of which they were members ; but they now instituted another by no means inferior in splendour or luxury, called the *Companions in Death*. Their friends were admitted into this, and the time passed in mutual treats and diversions. Cleopatra, at the same time, was making a collection of poisonous drugs, and being desirous to know which was least painful in the operation, she tried them on the capital convicts. Such poisons as were quick in their operation she found to be attended with violent pain and convulsions ; such as were milder were slow in their effect ; she, therefore, applied herself to the examination of venomous creatures, and caused different kinds of them to be applied to different persons under her own inspection. These

experiments she repeated daily, and at length she found that the bite of the asp was the most eligible kind of death, for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle sweat, and the senses sunk easily into stupefaction ; and those who were thus affected showed the same uneasiness at being disturbed or awaked, that people do in the profoundest natural sleep.*

They both sent ambassadors to Cæsar in Asia. Cleopatra requested Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they were by almost all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were forced to send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who, by means of Timogenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Antony from Octavia, he had before despatched to Judea to detain Herod in his interest. This man gave up Antony, and, relying on Herod's interest, had the confidence to appear before Cæsar. The interest of Herod, however, did not save him for he was immediately carried in chains into his own country, and there put to death. Thus Antony had, at least, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for his perfidy.

Cæsar absolutely rejected Antony's petition ; but he answered Cleopatra, that she might expect every favour from him, provided she either took off Antony, or banished him her dominions. At the same time he sent Thyreus† to her, who was one of his freedmen, and whose address was not unlikely to carry

* *Aspis somniculosa*. Sisen.

† Dion calls him Thyrsus. Antony and Cleopatra sent other ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of considerable treasures ; and last of all Antony sent his son Antyllus with large sums of gold. Cæsar, with that meanness which made a part of his character, took the gold, but granted him none of his requests. Fearing, however, that despair might put Antony upon the resolution of carrying the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth that Cleopatra had been amassing, he sent this Thyreus to Alexandria.

his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of a vain and ambitious queen, who had still the highest opinion of her personal charms.* As this ambassador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony grew jealous, and having first ordered him to be whipped, he sent him back to Cæsar with letters, wherein he informed him, that he had been provoked by the insolence of his freedman at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a freedman of mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and if it will be any satisfaction to you, use him in the same manner." Cleopatra, that she might make some amends for her indiscretion, behaved to him afterwards with great tenderness and respect. She kept her birthday in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances, but his was celebrated with such magnificence, that many of the guests who came poor returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Cæsar, to inform him that his presence was necessary at Rome. This put off the war for some time; but as soon as the winter was over, Cæsar marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and sent his lieutenants on the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken, it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra; whereupon the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and magnificence. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Cæsar was under some apprehensions about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For this reason

* Dion says, that Thyreus was instructed to make use of the softest address, and to insinuate that Cæsar was captivated with her beauty. The object of this measure was to prevail on her to take off Antony, while she was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the conqueror.

he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while in the meantime he hastened to the city with his army.

When he arrived he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kissed without ceremony, and at the same time he recommended to her favour a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. She presented the soldier with a cuirass and helmet of gold, which he took, and the same night went over to Cæsar. After this, Antony challenged Cæsar to fight him in single combat; but Cæsar only answered, that *Antony might think of many other ways to end his life*. Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not die more honourably than in battle, determined to attack Cæsar at the same time both by sea and land. The night preceding the execution of this design, he ordered his servants at supper to render him their best services that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully; for the day following they might belong to another master, *while he lay extended on the ground, no longer of consequence either to them or to himself*. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus; which when he perceived, he encouraged them by assurances, that his expectations of a glorious victory were at least equal to those of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when universal silence reigned through the city, a silence that was deepened by the awful thought of the ensuing day, on a sudden was heard the sound of musical instruments, and a noise which resembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous procession seemed to pass through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Those who reflected on this prodigy, concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground, from whence he saw

his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event; but as soon as the two fleets met, they bailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner (Antony's fleet making the first advances), and sailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no sooner done, than the cavalry deserted him in the same manner, and surrendered to Cæsar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those with whom he was fighting only for her sake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having secured it as much as possible with bars and bolts, she gave orders that Antony should be informed she was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why dost thou delay? What is life to thee, when it is taken from her, for whom alone thou couldst wish to live?" He then went to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, he said, "I am not distressed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone before me, for I shall soon be with thee; but I grieve to think that I who have been so distinguished a general, should be inferior in magnanimity to a woman." He was then attended by a faithful servant, whose name was *Eros*. He had engaged this servant to kill him whenever he should think it necessary, and he now demanded that service. *Eros* drew his sword, as if he designed to kill him; but, suddenly turning about, he slew himself, and fell at his master's feet! "This, *Eros*, was greatly done," said Antony; "thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy master, but thou hast taught him what to do by thy example." He then plunged his sword into his bowels, and threw himself on a couch that stood by. The wound, however, was not so deep as to cause immediate death; and the blood stopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himself, and entreated those who stood by to put him out of his pain. They all fled, nevertheless, and left him to his cries and torments, till *Diomedes*, secretary to Cleopatra, came with her request, that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that she was still living, it gave him fresh spirits, and he ordered his servants to take him up. Accord-

ingly they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not suffer the door to be opened, but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was fastened to it, and she, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up. Nothing, as they who were present observed, could possibly be more affecting than that spectacle. Antony, covered with blood, and in the agonies of death, hoisted up by the rope, and stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was suspended, for a considerable time, in the air! For it was with the greatest difficulty they drew him up, though Cleopatra herself exerted all her strength, straining every nerve, and distorting every feature with the violence of the effort; while those who stood below endeavoured to animate and encourage her, and seemed to partake in all the toil, and all the emotions that she felt. When she had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as she stood over him, she rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breast, and wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, she called him her lord, her emperor, her husband! Her soul was absorbed in his misfortunes; and she seemed totally to have forgot that she had any miseries of her own. Antony endeavoured to soothe her as well as he was able, and called for wine; either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it might sooner put him out of his pain. When he had drank, he advised her to consult her own affairs and her safety, so far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in *Proculeius* rather than in the other friends of Cæsar. "As to himself," he said, "that she ought rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past happiness than to bewail his present misfortunes; since in his life he had been illustrious, and was not inglorious in his death. He had conquered like a Roman, and it was only by a Roman that he was conquered." A little before he expired, *Proculeius* arrived from Cæsar; for after Antony had stabbed himself, and was conveyed to Cleopatra, *Dercetæus*, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody sword, and showed it to Cæsar. When Cæsar beheld this token of Antony's death, he retired to the

inner part of his tent, and shed some tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs.* He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had passed between him and Antony, wherein it appeared that, though Cæsar had still written in a rational and equitable manner, the answers of Antony were insolent and contemptuous. After this, he despatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were possible, for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument, which would so greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, she refused to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate. The substance of this conference was, that Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius, on the other hand, encouraged her to trust every thing to Cæsar.

After he had reconnoitred the place, he sent an account of it to Cæsar; upon which Gallus was despatched to confer with Cleopatra. The thing was thus concerted: Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into conversation, while, in the meantime, Proculeius applied a ladder to the window, where the women had taken in Antony; and having got in with two servants, he immediately made for the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive." She turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, the same instant attempted to stab herself; for to this intent she always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and, expostulating with her, as he held her in his arms, he entreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Cæsar:—that she would not deprive so humane

a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expose him by her distrust to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the same time he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she should have poison concealed about her. Cæsar also sent his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with the greatest politeness, but, by all means, to bring her alive.

Cæsar entered Alexandria conversing with Arius the philosopher; and that he might do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. When he entered the Gymnasium, he ascended a tribunal which had been erected for him, and gave assurances to the citizens, who prostrated themselves before him, that the city should not be hurt. He told them he had different motives for this. In the first place, it was built by Alexander; in the next place, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and, lastly, he would spare it, were it but for the sake of his friend Arius, who was born there. Cæsar gave him the high honour of this appellation, and pardoned many at his request. Amongst these was Philostratus, one of the most acute and eloquent sophists of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the academics; and Cæsar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected his petition; upon which the sophist followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloak, with a long white beard, crying constantly,

"The wise, if really such, will save the wise."

Cæsar heard and pardoned him, not so much out of favour, as to save Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur on his account.

Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor Theodorus, and put to death. While the soldiers were beheading him, the tutor stole a jewel of considerable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found upon him, and he was crucified. Cæsar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and allowed them an honourable support. Cæsario, the reputed son of Cæsar the dictator, had been sent by his mother, with a considerable sum of money, through

* This retirement of Cæsar was certainly an affection of concern. The death of Antony had been an invariable object with him. He was too cowardly to think himself safe while he lived; and to expose his weakness by reading his letters the moment he was informed of his death, was certainly no proof that he felt even then any tenderness for his memory.

Ethiopia into India. But, Rhodon, his governor, a man of the same principles with Theodorus, persuading him that Cæsar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to turn back. While Cæsar was deliberating how he should dispose of him, Arius is said to have observed, that there ought not, by any means, to be too many Cæsars. However, soon after the death of Cleopatra, he was slain.

Many considerable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæsar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for she was allowed to expend what she thought proper on the occasion. The excess of her affliction, and the inflammation of her breast, which was wounded by the blows she had given it in her anguish, threw her into a fever. She was pleased to find an excuse in this for abstaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The physician, in whom she placed her principal confidence, was Olympus; and, according to his short account of these transactions, she made use of his advice in the accomplishment of her design. Cæsar, however, suspected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the necessary food and physic, he threatened to treat her children with severity. This had the desired effect, and her resolution was overborne.*

A few days after, Cæsar himself made her a visit of condolence and consolation. She was then in an undress, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though she had nothing on but a single bedgown, she arose and threw herself at his feet. Her face was out of figure, her hair in disorder, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk, and her bosom bore the marks of the injuries she had done it. In short, her

person gave you the image of her mind, yet, in this deplorable condition, there were some remains of that grace, that spirit and vivacity which had so peculiarly animated her former charms; and still some gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over her melancholy countenance.†

When Cæsar had replaced her on her couch, and seated himself by her, she endeavoured to justify the part she took against him in the war, alleging the necessity she was under, and her fear of Antony. But when she found that these apologies had no weight with Cæsar, she had recourse to prayers and entreaties, as if she had been really desirous of life; and, at the same time, she put into his hands an inventory of her treasure. Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, accused her of suppressing some articles in the account; upon which she started up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him several blows on the face. Cæsar smiled at this spirited resentment, and endeavoured to pacify her: "But how is it to be borne," said she, "Cæsar, if, while even you honour me with a visit in my wretched situation, I must be affronted by one of my own servants? Supposing that I have reserved a few trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments for my own person in these miserable fortunes, but as little presents for Octavia and Livia, by whose good offices I might hope to find favour with you." Cæsar was not displeased to hear this, because he flattered himself that she was willing to live. He therefore assured her, that whatever she had reserved she might dispose of at her pleasure, and that she might, in every respect, depend on the most honourable treatment. After this, he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to his purpose; but she deceived him.

There was in Cæsar's train a young

* Cleopatra certainly possessed the virtues of fidelity and natural affection in a very eminent degree. She had several opportunities of betraying Antony, could she have been induced to it either by fear or ambition. Her tenderness for her children is always superior to her self-love; and she had a greatness of soul which Cæsar never knew.

† Dion gives a more pompous account of her reception of Cæsar. She received him, he tells us, in a magnificent apartment, lying on a splendid bed, in a mourning habit, which peculiarly became her; that she had several pictures of Julius Cæsar placed near her; and some letters she had received from him in her bosom. The conversation turned on the same subject; and her speech on the occasion is recorded. Dion. l. 54.

nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her everything that passed, he sent her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would be sent away with her children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted, she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead: "It is not long, my Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas! they then were free; but thy Cleopatra is now a prisoner, attended by a guard, lest in the transports of her grief she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offerings, the last honours she can pay thee; for she is now to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part us while we lived; but in death we are to be divided. Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt; and I, an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only favour I shall receive from thy country. Yet, if the gods of Rome have power or mercy left (for surely those of Egypt have forsaken us);* let them not suffer me to be led in living triumph to thy disgrace! No!—hide me, hide me with thee in the grave; for life, since thou hast left it, has been misery to me."

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and, after she had crowned the tomb with flowers, and kissed it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper; soon after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired what it contained; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermost, showed them a parcel of figs. As they admired

their size and beauty, he smiled, and bade them take some, but they refused; and not suspecting that the basket contained anything else, it was carried in. After supper Cleopatra sent a letter to Cæsar, and, ordering every body out of the monument, except her two women, she made fast the door. When Cæsar opened the letter, the plaintive style in which it was written, and the strong request that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, made him suspect her design. At first he was for hastening to her himself, but he changed his mind, and despatched others.† Her death, however, was so sudden, that though they who were sent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehensions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead,‡ lying on her golden bed, and dressed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to support herself, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. One of Cæsar's messengers said angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," said she, "and worthy a descendant of the kings of Egypt." She had no sooner said this, than she fell down dead.

It is related by some that an asp was brought in amongst the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it so that she might be bit without seeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, she perceived it, and said, "This is what I wanted." Upon which she immediately held out her arm to it. Others say, that the asp was kept in a water vessel, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm. Nothing of this, however, could be ascertained; for it was reported likewise that she carried about with her a certain poison in a hollow bodkin that she wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poison on her body, nor was there any serpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was said to have been discovered on the sea-sands opposite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others again

* It was the opinion of the ancients, that the gods forsook the vanquished. Thus *Virgil*:

Excessere omnes, adytis ærisque relictis,
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat. / *Æn. ii.*

And *Tacitus*,
Alieni jam imperii deos.

† This is another instance of his personal cowardice.

‡ Dion says, that Cæsar ordered her to be sucked by the *Psylli*, that the poison might be drawn out; but it was too late.

have affirmed, that she had two small punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the sting of the asp; and it is clear that Cæsar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on the arm.*

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Cæsar was much disappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. Her women, too, were, by his orders, interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, the fourteen last in conjunction with Antony. Antony was fifty-three, some say fifty-six, when he died. His statues were all demolished, but Cleopatra's remain untouched; for Archibius, a friend of hers, gave Cæsar a thousand talents for their redemption.

Antony left by his three wives seven children,† whereof Antyllus, the eldest, only was put to death. Octavia took the rest, and educated them as her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politest princes of his time; and Octavia made Antony, his son by Fulvia, so consider

* This may be a matter of doubt. There would, of course, be an asp on the diadem of the effigy, because it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give rise to the report of an asp being on the arm.

† By *Fulvia* he had Antyllus and Antony; by *Cleopatra* he had Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by *Octavia*, Antonia, *major* and *minor*.

able with Cæsar, that, after Agrippa and the sons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the first place in his favour. Octavia, by her first husband Marcellus, had two daughters and a son named Marcellus. One of these daughters she married to Agrippa; and the son married a daughter of Cæsar's. But as he died soon after, and Octavia observing that her brother was at a loss whom he should adopt in his place, she prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter must necessarily be divorced to make way for her. Cæsar and Agrippa having agreed on this point, she took back her daughter and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, so much celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law to Cæsar. Of this line came Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards emperor; and so likewise was Caius the son of Germanicus, who, after a short but infamous reign, was put to death, together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was afterwards married to Claudius Cæsar. He adopted Domitius, whom he named Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and, by the madness of his conduct, went near to ruin the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY COMPARED.

As Demetrius and Antony both passed through a variety of fortune, we shall consider, in the first place, their respective power and celebrity. These were hereditary to Demetrius; for Antigonius, the most powerful of Alexander's successors, had reduced all Asia during his son's minority. On the other hand, the father of Antony was, indeed, a man of character, but not of a military character; yet though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his son, that son did not hesitate to aspire to the empire of Cæsar; and,

without any title either from consanguinity or alliance, he effectually invested himself with all that he had acquired; at least, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himself. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucasus, as far as the Caspian sea. Even the less reputable parts of his conduct are so many testimonies of his greatness. The father of Demetrius thought it an honour to marry him to Phila the

daughter of Antipater, though there was a disparity in their years; while Antony's connexion with Cleopatra was considered as a degrading circumstance; though Cleopatra, in wealth and magnificence, was superior to all the princes of her time, Arsaces excepted. Thus he had raised himself to such a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he wished.

In Demetrius's acquisition of empire there was nothing reprehensible. He extended it only to nations inured to slavery, and desirous of being governed. But the arbitrary power of Antony grew on the execrable policy of a tyrant, who once more reduced to slavery a people that had shaken off the yoke. Consequently the greatest of his actions, his conquest of Brutus and Cassius, is darkened with the inglorious motive of wresting its liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, consulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garrisons from the cities; while Antony made it his boast, that he had destroyed the assertors of his country's freedom in Macedonia.

Antony is praised for his liberality and munificence; in which, however, Demetrius is so far his superior that he gave more to his enemies than the former did to his friends. Antony was honoured for allowing a magnificent funeral to Brutus; but Demetrius buried every enemy he had slain, and sent back his prisoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with presents.

Both were insolent in prosperity, and fell with too much ease into luxury and indulgence; but we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleasures. In his hours of leisure, indeed, he had his *Lamia*, whose office it was, like the fairy in the fable, to lull him to sleep, or amuse him in his play. When he went to war, his spear was not bound about with ivy; his helmet did not smell of perfume; he did not come in the foppery of dress out of the chambers of the women; the riots of Bacchus and his train were hushed; and he became, as Euripides says, *the minister of Mars*. In short, he never lost a battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could not be said of Antony; as in the pictures of *Hercules* we

see *Omphale* stealing his club and his lion's skin, so Cleopatra frequently disarmed Antony, and, while he should have been prosecuting the most necessary expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the shores of Canopus and Taphosiris.* So, likewise, as Paris came from battle to the bosom of Helen, and even from the loss of victory to her bed, Antony threw victory itself out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the examples of Philip and Alexander, *Lysimachus* and *Ptolemy*, married several wives, and treated them all with the greatest honour. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of amongst the Romans, had two wives at the same time. Besides, he banished her who was properly his wife, and a citizen, from his house, to indulge a foreigner with whom he could have no legal connexion. From their marriages, of course, one of them found no inconvenience; the other suffered the greatest evils.

In respect of their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modest. Historians tell us, that the Athenians turned the dogs out of the citadel, because they had their procreative intercourse in public; but Demetrius had his courtesans, and dishonoured the matrons of Athens even in the temple of *Miurva*. Nay, though cruelty seems to be inconsistent with sensual gratifications, he scrupled not to drive the most beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal designs. In short, Antony, by his amorous indulgences, hurt only himself; Demetrius injured others.

With regard to their behaviour to their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproachable; but Antony sacrificed his uncle to the sword of Cæsar, that he might be empowered in his turn to cut off Cicero; a crime the latter was, which never could be made pardonable, had Antony even saved and not sacrificed an uncle by the means! They are both accused of perfidy, in that one of them threw *Arta-*

* Strabo mentions this as a romantic place near the sea, full of rocks, where the young went to amuse themselves. Lib. xvii.

bazus in prison; and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has some apology in this case, for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media. But Demetrius was suspected of laying a false accusation against Alexander, and of punishing, not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, too, in their military operations, that Demetrius gained every victory himself, and many of Antony's laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both lost their empire by their own fault, but by different means. The former was abandoned by his people; the latter deserted his, even whilst they

were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that, by his conduct, he lost the affection of his army; the fault of Antony, his desertion and neglect of that affection. Neither of them can be approved in their death; but Demetrius much less than Antony, for he suffered himself to fall into the hands of the enemy, and with a spirit that was truly bestial, endured an imprisonment of three years for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite. There was a deplorable weakness, and many disgraceful circumstances attending the death of Antony; but he effected it at last without falling into the enemy's hands.



DION.

As we learn from Simonides, my dear Senecio, that the Trojans were by no means offended at the Corinthians for joining the confederates in the Grecian war, because the family of Glaucius, their own ally, was originally of Corinth, so neither the Greeks nor the Romans have reason to complain of the academy, which has been equally favourable to both. This will appear from the lives of Brutus and Dion; for, as one was the scholar of Plato, and the other educated in his principles, they came like wrestlers from the same Palæstra, to engage in the greatest conflicts. Both by their conduct, in which there was a great similarity, confirmed that observation of their master, that "Power and fortune must concur with prudence and justice, to effect any thing great in a political capacity;" but as Hippomachus, the wrestler said, that he could distinguish his scholars at a distance, though they were only carrying meat from the market; so the sentiments of those who have had a polite education, must have a similar influence on their manners, and give a peculiar grace and propriety to their conduct.

Accident, however, rather than design, gave a similarity to the lives of these two men; and both were cut off by an untimely death, before they could carry the purposes, which they had pursued with so much labour, into exe-

cution. The most singular circumstance attending their death was, that both had a divine warning of it, in the appearance of a frightful spectre. There are those, indeed, who say, that no man in his senses ever saw a spectre; that these are the delusive visions of women and children; or of men whose intellects are affected by some infirmity of the body; and who believe that their absurd imaginations are of divine inspiration. But if Dion and Brutus, men of firm and philosophic minds, whose understandings were not affected by any constitutional infirmity;—if such men could pay so much credit to the appearance of spectres, as to give an account of them to their friends, I see no reason why we should depart from the opinion of the ancients, that men had their evil genii, who disturbed them with fears, and distressed their virtue, lest by a steady and uniform pursuit of it, they should hereafter obtain a happier allotment than themselves.* These things, however, I must refer to another occasion, and in this twelfth book of parallel lives, of which Dion and Brutus are the

* This is perfectly agreeable to the Platonic doctrine of the different orders and dispositions of the *genii*. And as Dion and Brutus were both great enthusiasts in Platonism, the *strength of their faith* brought their spectres before them.

subjects. I shall begin with the more ancient.

After Dionysius the elder had seized the government of Sicily, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracusan. But as the monarchic power was yet but ill established, she had the misfortune to be so much abused in her person by an outrageous faction, that she put an end to her life. When Dionysius was confirmed in his government, he married two wives at the same time. One was Doris, a native of Locris; the other Aristomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, who was a principal person in Syracuse, and colleague with Dionysius, when he was first appointed general of the Sicilian forces. It is said that he married these wives on the same day. It is not certain which he enjoyed first, but he was impartial in his kindness to them; for both attended him at table, and alternately partook of his bed. As Doris had the disadvantage of being a foreigner, the Syracusans sought every means of obtaining the preference for their countrywoman, but it was more than equivalent to this disadvantage, that she had the honour of giving Dionysius his eldest son. Aristomache, on the contrary, was a long time barren, though the king was extremely desirous of having children by her, and put to death the mother of Doris, upon a supposition that she had prevented her conceptions by potions.

Dion, the brother of Aristomache, was well received at court; not only on her account, but from the regard which Dionysius had for his merit and abilities; and that prince gave his treasurer an order to supply him with whatever money he wanted; but, at the same time, to keep an account of what he received.

But whatever the talents and the virtues of Dion might be originally, it is certain that they received the happiest improvement under the auspices of Plato. Surely the gods, in mercy to mankind, sent that divine philosopher from Italy to Syracuse, that through the humane influence of his doctrine, the spirit of liberty might once more revive, and the inhabitants of that country be rescued from tyranny.*

* Plato, in his seventh letter, says, "When I explained the principles of philosophy and

Dion soon became the most distinguished of his scholars. To the fertility of his genius, and the excellency of his disposition, Plato himself has given testimony,† and he did the greatest honour to that testimony in his life. For though he had been educated in servile principles under a tyrant; though he had been familiarized to dependence on the one hand, and to the indulgence of pomp and luxury, as the greatest happiness, on the other; yet he was no sooner acquainted with that philosophy which points out the road to virtue, than his whole soul caught the enthusiasm; and, with the simplicity of a young man, who judges of the dispositions of others by his own, he concluded that Plato's lectures would have the same effect on Dionysius; for this reason he solicited, and at length persuaded, the tyrant to hear him. When Plato was admitted, the discourse turned on virtue in general; afterwards they came to fortitude in particular, and Plato made it appear, that tyrants have, of all men, the least pretence to that virtue. Justice was the next topic; and when Plato asserted the happiness of the just and the wretched condition of the unjust, the tyrant was stung and being unable to answer his arguments, he expressed his resentment against those who seemed to listen to him with pleasure. At last he was extremely exasperated, and asked the philosopher what business he had in Sicily. Plato answered, "That he came to seek an honest man."—"And so then," replied the tyrant, "it seems you have lost your labour." Dion was in hopes that his anger would have ended here; but while Plato was hasting to be gone, he conveyed him on board a galley, in which Pollis, the Lacedæmonian, was returning to Greece. Dionysius urged Pollis either to put Plato to death in his passage, or, at least, to sell him as a slave; "for according to his own maxim," said he, "this man cannot be unhappy; a just man, he says, must be happy in a state of slavery, as well as in a state of freedom." Pollis, therefore, carried him to Ægina, and sold

humanity to Dion, I little thought that I was insensibly opening a way to the subversion of tyranny!"

† Plato, *ibid.*

him there.* For the people of that place, being at war with the Athenians, had made a decree, that whatever Athenian was taken on their coast, he should be sold. Dion, notwithstanding, retained his interest with Dionysius, had considerable employments, and was sent ambassador to Carthage. Dionysius had a high esteem for him, and he therefore permitted him to speak his sentiments with freedom: an instance of this we have in the retort he made on the tyrant's ridiculing the government of Gelo, "Gelo," said Dionysius, "is (*Gelos*) the laughing-stock of Sicily." While others admired and applauded this witticism, Dion answered, "You obtained the crown by being trusted on Gelo's account, who reigned with great humanity; but you have reigned in such a manner, that for your sake, no man will be trusted hereafter. Gelo made monarchy appear the best of governments; but you have convinced us that it is the worst." Dionysius had three children by Doris, and four by Aristomache, whereof two were daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete. The former of these was married to his eldest son, Dionysius; the latter to his brother Thearides; and after his death, to her uncle Dion. In the last illness of Dionysius, Dion would have applied to him in behalf of the children of Aristomache, but the physicians were beforehand with him. They wanted to ingratiate themselves with his successor; and when he asked for a sleeping dose, Timæus tells us, they gave him so effectual an one that he awaked no more.

When his son Dionysius came to the throne, in the first council that he held, Dion spoke with so much propriety on the present state of affairs, and on the measures which ought to be taken, that the rest appeared to be mere children in understanding. By the freedom of his counsels, he exposed in a strong light, the slavish principles of those, who, through a timorous disingenuity, advised such measures as they thought would please their prince, rather than such as might advance his interest. But what alarmed them most, was the steps he proposed to take with regard to the impending war with Carthage; for he offered either to go in person to Car-

thage, and settle an honourable peace with the Carthaginians, or, if the king were rather inclined for war, to fit out and maintain fifty galleys at his own expense.

Dionysius was pleased with the magnificence of his spirit; but the courtiers felt that it made them appear little. They agreed that, at all events, Dion was to be crushed, and they spared no calumny that malice could suggest. They represented to the king, that he certainly meant to make himself master by sea, and by that means to obtain the kingdom for his sister's children. There was, moreover, another and an obvious cause of their hatred to him, in the reserve of his manners, and of the sobriety of his life. They led the young and ill educated king through every species of debauchery, the shameless panders to his wrong directed passions. Yet while folly rioted, tyranny slept; its rage was dissolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is softened in the fire; and that lenity which the Sicilians could not expect from the virtue of their prince, they found in his weakness. Thus the reins of that monarchy, which Dionysius vainly called adamantine, fell gradually from the loose and dissolute hand that held them. This young prince, it is said, would continue the scene of intoxication for ninety days without intermission; during which time no sober person was admitted to his court, where all was drunkenness and buffoonery, revelry and riot.

Their enmity to Dion, who had no taste for these enjoyments, was a thing of course; and, as he refused to partake with them in their vices, they resolved to strip him of his virtues; to these they gave the names of such vices as are supposed in some degree to resemble them. His gravity of manners they called pride; his freedom of speech, insolence; his declining to join in their licentiousness, contempt. It is true, there was a natural haughtiness in his deportment; and an asperity that was unsocial and difficult of access; so that it is not to be wondered if he found no ready admission to the ears of a young king, already spoiled by flattery. Many, even of his own particular friends, who admired the integrity and generosity of his heart,

could not but condemn those forbidding manners, which were so ill adapted to social and political intercourse ; and Plato himself, when he wrote to him some time after, warned him as it were by the spirit of prophecy, *To guard against that austerity which is the companion of solitude*.^{*} However, the necessity of the times, and the feeble state of the monarchy, rendered it necessary for the king, though contrary to his inclination, to retain him in the highest appointments ; and this Dion himself very well knew.

As he was willing to impute the irregularities of Dionysius to ignorance and a bad education, he endeavoured to engage him in a course of liberal studies, and to give him a taste for those sciences which have a tendency to moral improvement. By this means he hoped that he should induce him to think of virtue without disgust, and at length to embrace its precepts with pleasure. The young Dionysius was not naturally the worst of princes ; but his father being apprehensive that if his mind were improved by science and the conversation of wise and virtuous men, he might some time or other think of depriving him of his kingdom, kept him in close confinement ; where through ignorance and want of other employment, he amused himself with making little chariots, candlesticks, wooden chairs, and tables. His father, indeed, was so suspicious of all mankind, and so wretchedly timorous, that he would not suffer a barber to shave him ; but had his hair singed off with a live coal by one of his own attendants. Neither his brother nor his son were admitted into his chamber in their own clothes, but were first stripped and examined by the sentinels, and after that were obliged to put on such clothes as were provided for them. When his brother Leptines was once describing the situation of a place, he took a spear from one of the guards to trace the plan, upon which Dionysius was extremely offended, and caused the soldier who had given up

his spear to be put to death. He was afraid, he said, of the sense and sagacity of his friends ; because he knew they must think it more eligible to govern than to obey. He slew Marsyas, whom he had advanced to a considerable military command, merely because Marsyas dreamed that he killed him ; for he concluded, that this dream by night was occasioned by some similar suggestion of the day. Yet even this timorous and suspicious wretch was offended with Plato, because he would not allow him to be the most valiant man in the world !

When Dion, as we have before observed, considered that the irregularities of young Dionysius were chiefly owing to his want of education, he exhorted him earnestly to apply himself to study ; and by all means to send for Plato, the prince of philosophers, into Sicily. "When he comes," said he, "apply to him without loss of time. Conformed by his precepts to that divine exemplar of beauty and perfection, which called the universe from confusion into order, you will at once secure your own happiness, and the happiness of your people. The obedience they now render you through fear, by your justice and moderation you will improve to a principle of filial duty ; and of a tyrant you will become a king : fear and force, and fleets and armies, are not, as your father called them, the adamantine chains of government ; but that attention, that affection, that respect, which justice and goodness for ever draw after them ; these are the milder, but the stronger bonds of empire. Besides, it is surely a disgrace for a prince, who in all the circumstances of figure and appearance is distinguished from the people, not to rise above them at the same time, in the superiority of his conversation, and the cultivation of his mind."

As Dion frequently solicited the king on this subject, and occasionally repeated some of Plato's arguments, he conceived at length a violent inclination to hear him discourse. He therefore sent several letters of invitation to him at Athens, which were seconded by the entreaties of Dion. The Pythagorean philosophers in Italy requested at the same time, that he would undertake the direction of this young prince whose mind was misguided by power

^{*} ἡ δὲ αὐθαδεια ἀρῆμα ξυνοικος. Literally, *Haughtiness lives under the same roof with solitude*. This is towards the end of Plato's fourth letter. It is preceded by a fine political precept, viz. that the complaisance which produces popularity is the source of the greatest operations in government.

and reclaim him by the solid counsels of philosophy. Plato, as he owns himself, was ashamed to be a philosopher in theory and not in practice, and flattering himself that if he could rectify the mind of the prince, he might by the same means remedy the disorders of the kingdom, he yielded to their request.

The enemies of Dion, now fearing an alteration in Dionysius, advised him to recall from exile one Philistus, who was indeed a man of learning,* but employed his talents in defence of the despotic policy; and this man they intended to set in opposition to Plato and his philosophy. Philistus, from the beginning, had been a principal instrument in promoting the monarchic government, and kept the citadel, of which he was governor, a long time for that party. It is said that he had a private commerce with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant himself was not ignorant of it. Be this as it may, Leptines, who had two daughters by a married woman whom he had debauched, gave one of them in marriage to Philistus; but this being done without consulting Dionysius, he was offended, imprisoned Leptines's mistress, and banished Philistus. The latter fled to his friends at Adria, where it is probable he composed the greatest part of his history; for he did not return to Sicily during the reign of that Dionysius. After his death, as we have observed, Dion's enemies occasioned him to be recalled. His arbitrary principles were suitable for their purpose, and he began to exercise them immediately on his return.

At the same time calumnies and impleachments against Dion were, as usual, brought to the king. He was accused of holding a private correspondence with Theodoses and Heraclides, for the subversion of the monarchy; and indeed it is probable that he entertained some hopes from the arrival of Plato, of lessening the excessive power of Dionysius, or, at least, of making him moderate and equitable in the use of it. Besides, if he continued obstinate, and were not to be re-

claimed, he was determined to depose him, and restore the commonwealth to the Syracusans; for he preferred even the popular form of government to an absolute monarchy, where a well regulated aristocracy could not be procured.

Such was the state of affairs when Plato came into Sicily. At first he was received with the greatest appearance of kindness, and he was conveyed from the coast in one of the king's most splendid chariots. Even Dionysius himself sacrificed to the gods in acknowledgment of his safe arrival, and of the honour and happiness they had by that means conferred on his kingdom. The people had the greatest hopes of a speedy reformation. They observed an unusual decorum in the entertainments at court, and a sobriety in the conduct of the courtiers; while the king answered all to whom he gave audience in a very obliging manner. The desire of learning and the study of philosophy were become general, and the several apartments of the royal palace were like so many schools of geometers, full of the dust in which the students describe their mathematical figures. Not long after this, at a solemn sacrifice in the citadel, when the herald prayed as usual for the long continuance of the government, Dionysius is said to have cried, "How long will you continue to curse me?" This was an inexpressible mortification to Philistus and his party; if Plato, said they, has already made such a change in the king, his influence in time will be irresistible.

They now no longer made their attacks on Dion separately, or in private. They united in exclaiming against him, that he had fascinated the king with the delusions of eloquence and philosophy, in order to obtain the kingdom for his sister's children. They represented it as a matter of the greatest indignity, that after the whole force of the Athenians had vainly invaded Sicily, and were vanquished and destroyed, without so much as being able to take Syracuse, they should now by means of one sophist, overturn the empire of Dionysius. It was with indignation they beheld the deluded monarch prevailed on by his insinuations to part with his guard of ten thousand spearmen, to give up a navy of four hundred

* He wrote the histories of Egypt, Sicily, and the reign of Dionysius. Cicero calls him the petty Thucydides: *Pusillus Thucydides*.

galleys, to disband an army of ten thousand horse, and many times that number of foot, in order that he might pursue an ideal happiness in the academy, and amuse himself with theorems of geometry, while the substantial enjoyments of wealth and power were left to Dion and the children of Aristomache.

By means of these suggestions Dion first incurred the suspicion, and soon after the open displeasure of Dionysius. A letter of his was likewise intercepted, and privately carried to the king. It was addressed to the Carthaginian agents, and directed them not to have their audience of the king concerning the conclusion of the peace, unless he were present, and then everything should be settled as they wished. Timæus informs us, that after Dionysius had showed this letter to Philistus, and consulted him upon it, he overreached Dion by a pretence of reconciliation, and told him, that he was desirous their good understanding might be renewed. After this, as he was one day walking alone with him by the wall of the castle, near the sea, he showed him the letter, and accused him of conspiring with the Carthaginians against him. When Dion attempted to speak in his own defence, Dionysius refused to hear him; and having forced him on board a vessel which lay there for the purpose, commanded the sailors to set him ashore in Italy.

When this was publicly known, it was generally condemned as tyrannical and cruel. The court was in distress for the ladies of Dion's family; but the citizens received fresh courage from the event, for they were in hopes that the odium which it would bring upon Dionysius, and the general discontent that his government occasioned, might contribute to bring about a revolution. Dionysius perceived this with some anxiety, and thinking it necessary to pacify the women and the rest of Dion's friends, he told them that he was not gone into exile, but only sent out of the way for a time, that his obstinacy might not draw upon him a heavier punishment. He also allowed his friends two ships, that they might convey to him, in Peloponnesus, as much of his treasure and as many of his servants as they should think fit; for Dion was a

man of considerable property, and little inferior to the king in wealth or magnificence. The most valuable part of his effects, together with presents from the ladies and others of his acquaintance, his friends conveyed to him; and the splendour of his fortune gained him great respect among the Greeks. At the same time they conceived a high idea of the power of the tyrant, when an exile from his kingdom could make such an appearance.

Dionysius now removed Plato into the citadel, under colour of kindness; but in reality to set a guard upon him, lest he should follow Dion, and proclaim to the world how injuriously he had been treated.

As wild beasts become tame and tractable by use, so the tyrant, by frequent conversation with the philosopher, began at last to conceive an affection for him; yet even that affection had something of the tyrant in it, for he required of Plato, in return, that he should exclusively confine his regard and admiration to him. On condition that he would prefer his friendship to that of Dion, he was willing to give up the whole administration into his hands. This extravagant affection gave Plato no small trouble, for it was accompanied with petulance and jealousy, as the love which subsists between the different sexes has its quarrels and reconciliations. He expressed the strongest desire to become Plato's scholar, and to proceed in the study of philosophy; but he expressed it with reluctance in the presence of those who wanted to divert him from his purpose, and seemed as if he was in pursuit of something he ought to be ashamed of.

As a war broke out about this time, he found it necessary to dismiss Plato; but he promised him, before his departure, to recall Dion the ensuing summer; however, he did not keep his promise, but made the war he was engaged in his apology, and remitted to him the produce of his estate. At the same time he desired Plato to acquiesce in his apology, assuring him that he would send for Dion on the commencement of the peace; and he entertained, in the meanwhile, that Dion would be peaceable, and not say or do anything that might hurt his character among the Greeks. This Plato endeav-

voured to effect, by keeping Dion in the academy in pursuit of philosophy.

At Athens Dion lived with an acquaintance whose name was Callippus; but a piece of pleasure-ground which he purchased, he gave, on his departure, to Speusippus, with whom he had most usually conversed. Speusippus, as Timon, in his poems called *Syllis*, informs us, was a facetious companion, and had a turn for railleury; and Plato was desirous that Dion's severity of manners might be softened by the pleasantry of his conversation. When Plato exhibited a chorus of boys at Athens,* Dion took upon himself the management, and defrayed the expense. Plato was desirous that this munificence might procure him popularity, and on that account he readily gave up the honour of conducting the affair himself.

Dion likewise visited other cities, and conversed with the principal statesmen, by whom he was publicly entertained. In his manners there was now no longer anything pompous or affected; there was nothing that savoured of the dissolute luxury of a tyrant's court; his behaviour was modest, discreet, and manly; and his philosophical discourses were learned, and ingenious. This procured him popular favour and public honours; and the Lacedæmonians, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though at the very time they had received succours from him against the Thebans, made him free of their city. We are told that Dion accepted an invitation from Ptœodorus the Megarensian, who was a man of considerable power and fortune; and when he found his door crowded with people on business, and that it was difficult to have access to him, he said to his friends, who expressed their dissatisfaction on the occasion, "Why should this affront us? we did this, and more than this, at Syracuse."

Dion's popularity in Greece soon excited the jealousy of Dionysius, who therefore stopped his remittances, and put his estate in the hands of his own stewards. However, that his reputation might not suffer, through Plato's means, amongst the philosophers, he

retained a number of learned men in his court; and being desirous to outshine them all in disputation, he frequently was under a necessity of introducing, without the least propriety, the arguments he had learned from Plato. He now wished for that philosopher again, and repented that he had so ill availed himself of his instructions. Like a tyrant, therefore, whose desires, however extravagant, are immediately to be complied with, he was violently bent on recalling him. To effect this, he thought of every expedient, and at length prevailed on Archytas, and the rest of the Pythagorean philosophers, to pledge themselves for the performance of his promises, and to persuade him to return to Sicily, for it was Plato that first introduced those philosophers to Dionysius.

On their part, they sent Archidamus to Plato, and Dionysius, at the same time, sent some galleys, with several of his friends, to join in their request. The tyrant likewise wrote to him, and told him, in plain terms, that Dion must expect no favour from him, if Plato should not come into Sicily; but, upon his arrival, he might depend on everything he desired. Dion was also solicited by his sister and wife to prevail with Plato to gratify the tyrant, that he might no longer have an apology for the severity of his treatment. Plato, therefore, as he says himself, set sail the third time for Sicily:—

To brave Charybdis' dreadful gulf once more!†

His arrival was not only a satisfaction to Dionysius, but to all Sicily; the inhabitants of which did not fail to implore the gods, that Plato might overcome Philistus, and that the tyranny might expire under the influence of his philosophy. Plato was in high favour with the women in particular, and with Dionysius he had such credit as no other person could boast, for he was allowed to come to him without being searched. When Aristippus, the Cyrenean, observed, that the king frequently offered Plato money, and that Plato as constantly refused it; he said, "That Dionysius was liberal without danger of exhausting his treasury; for to those

* This was a dramatic entertainment, exhibited with great expense and magnificence on the feast of Bacchus.

† O.lyss. l. xii.

DION.

who wanted, and would take money, he was sparing in his offers, but profuse where he knew it would be refused."

After the first civilities were over, Plato took an opportunity to mention Dion; but the tyrant put him off, till, at last, expostulations and animosities took place. These, however, Dionysius was industrious to conceal, and endeavoured to bring over Plato from the interest of Dion by repeated favours and studied civilities. The philosopher, on the other hand, did not immediately publish his perfidy, but dissembled his resentment. While things were thus circumstanced, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's followers, foretold an eclipse of the sun; and as it happened, according to his prediction, the king, in admiration of his learning, rewarded him with a talent of silver. Upon this Aristippus, jesting among the rest of the philosophers, told them, he had something extraordinary likewise to prognosticate. Being entreated to make it known, "I foresee," said he, "that in a short time there will be a quarrel between Dionysius and Plato." Soon after this, Dionysius sold Dion's estate, and converted the money to his own use. Plato was removed from his apartment in the palace-gardens, and placed within the purview of the guards, who had long hated, and even sought to kill him, on a supposition that he advised the tyrant to lay down his government and disband his army.

Archytas, who had engaged for Plato's safety, when he understood his danger, sent a galley to demand him; and the tyrant, to palliate his enmity, previous to his departure, made pompous entertainments; at one of them, however, he could not help saying, "I suppose, Plato, when you return to your companions in the academy, my faults will often be the subject of your conversation." "I hope," answered Plato, "we shall never be so much at a loss for subjects in the academy as to talk of you." Such are the circumstances which have been mentioned concerning Plato's departure, but they are not perfectly consistent with Plato's own account.

Dion being offended, not only with these things, but at some intelligence he had before received concerning his wife, which is alluded to in Plato's

letter to Dionysius, openly declared himself his enemy. The affair was this. Plato, on his return to Greece, was desired by Dionysius privately to consult Dion, whether he would be averse to his wife's marrying another man; for there was a report, whether true, or the invention of his enemies, that his matrimonial state was not agreeable to him, and that there was a coolness betwixt him and Arete. After Plato had consulted Dion on the affair, he wrote to Dionysius, and though he spoke in plain terms of other matters, he mentioned this in a manner that could only be intelligible to the king. He told him, that he had talked with Dion on the business, and that he would certainly resent it if any such attempt were made.

While any prospect of an accommodation remained, Dionysius took no further steps in the affair; but when that prospect was gone, and Plato once more had left Sicily in displeasure, he compelled Arete to marry Timocrates; and, in this instance, he fell short even of the justice and lenity of his father. When Philoxenus, who had married his sister Theste, was declared his enemy, and fled through fear out of Sicily, Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her with being privy to her husband's escape, without letting him know it. Theste answered, without fear or hesitation, "Do you think me, Dionysius, so bad a wife, or so weak a woman, that if I had known of my husband's flight I would not have accompanied him, and shared in the worst of his fortunes? Indeed I was ignorant of it; and I assure you, that I should esteem it a higher honour to be called the wife of Philoxenus the exile, than the sister of Dionysius the tyrant." The king, it is said, admired her spirited answer; and the Syracusans honoured her so much that she retained her princely retinue after the dissolution of the tyranny; and the citizens, by public decree, attended the solemnity of her funeral. This is a digression, but it may have its use.

Dion now thought of nothing but war. Plato, however, was against it; partly on account of the hospitable favours he had received from Dionysius, and partly because of the advanced age of Dion. Speusippus, and the rest of

his friends, on the other hand, encouraged him to rescue from slavery his native Sicily, that stretched forth her hands towards him, and would certainly receive him with every expression of joy. Speusippus, when he attended Plato into Sicily, had mixed more with the people, and learned their sentiments with regard to the government. At first, indeed, they were reserved, and suspected him for an emissary of the tyrant's; but by degrees, he obtained their confidence. In short, it was the voice, the prayer of the people, that Dion would come, though without either army or navy, to their relief, and lend them only his name and his presence against the tyrant. Dion was encouraged by these representations; and, the more effectually to conceal his intentions, he raised what forces he was able by means of his friends. He was assisted in this by many statesmen and philosophers, amongst whom was Endemus, the Cyprian (on occasion of whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue on the soul,) and Timonides, the Lencadian. These engaged in his interest Miltas the Thessalian, who was skilled in divination, and had been his fellow academician. But of all those whom the tyrant had banished, which were no fewer than a thousand, no more than twenty-five gave in their names for the service; the rest, for want of spirit, would not engage in the cause. The general rendezvous was in the island of Zacynthus; and here, when the little army was assembled, it did not amount to eight hundred men;* but they were men who had signalized themselves in the greatest engagements; they were in perfect discipline, and inured to hardship; in courage and conduct they had no superiors in the army; in short, they were such men as were likely to serve the cause of Dion, in animating, by their example, those who came to his standard in Sicily.

Yet these men, when they understood that they were to be led against Dionysius, were disheartened, and condemned the rash resentment of Dion; the consequences of which they looked upon as certain ruin. Nor were they

less offended with their commanders, and those who had enlisted them, because they had concealed the design of the service. But when Dion, in a public speech, after showing them the feeble state of Dionysius's government, told them that he considered them rather as so many officers whom he carried to head the people of Sicily, already prepared to revolt, than as private men; and when Alcimenes, who, in birth and reputation, was the principal man in Achaia, had concurred in the address of Dion, and joined in the expedition, they then were satisfied.

It was now about midsummer, the Etesian winds† prevailed at sea, and the moon was at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in procession to the temple, with his men under arms. After the sacrifice, he gave them a feast in the race ground of the Zacynthians. They were astonished at the quantity of gold and silver plate that was exhibited on this occasion, so far above the ordinary fortunes of a private man; and they concluded, that a person of such opulence would not, at a late period of life, expose himself to dangers without a fair prospect of success, and the certain support of friends. After the usual prayers and libations the moon was eclipsed. This was nothing strange to Dion, who knew the variations of the ecliptic, and that this defection of the moon's light was caused by the interposition of the earth between her and the sun. But as the

† These winds blew regularly at a certain season of the year. Strabo sometimes calls them east, and sometimes north winds; but to convey Dion from Zacynthus to Pachynus, they must have blown from the east. Pliny makes the Etesian winds the same as the north-east wind. *Aquilo in aestate media mutat nomen, et Etesias vocatur. Hist. Nat. l. xviii. cap. 34.* He tells us, when the winds begin, xviii. *Calend. Augusti, Egypto aquilo occidit matutino, Etesiarumque Pro dromi Flotus incipiunt, ibid. l. xviii. cap. 28.* And when they end: *Decimo Sexto Calend. Octob. Egypto Spica, quam tenet virgo, ex oritur matutino, Etesiae que desinunt, ibid. l. xviii. cap. 31.* Thus it seems, that they last about two months, (Pliny in another place says forty days, l. ii. chap. 47.) and the relief of such gales in that season is plainly providential. Aristotle accounts for them from the convexity of the earth.

* Diodorus enlarges with great propriety on the extraordinary spirit and success of this enterprise. *Ibid. xvi.*

soldiers were troubled about it, Miltas, the diviner, took upon him to give it a proper turn, and assured them, that it portended the sudden obscurity of something that was at present glorious; that this glorious object could be no other than Dionysius, whose lustre would be extinguished on their arrival in Sicily. This interpretation he communicated in as public a manner as possible; but from the prodigy of bees,* a swarm of which settled on the stern of Dion's ship, he intimated to his friends his apprehensions that the great affairs, which Dion was then prosecuting, after flourishing awhile, would come to nothing. Dionysius too, they said, had many prodigies on this occasion. An eagle snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and, after flying aloft with it, dropped it into the sea. The waters of the sea, at the foot of the citadel, were fresh for one whole day, as plainly appeared to every one that tasted them. He had pigs farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. The diviners interpreted this as an omen of rebellion and revolt; the people, they said, would no longer give ear to the mandates of the tyrant. The freshness of the sea-water imported that the Syracusans, after their harsh and severe treatment, would enjoy milder and better times. The eagle was the minister of Jove, and the javelin an ensign of power and government; thus the father of the gods had destined the overthrow and abolition of the tyranny. These things we have from Theopompus.

Dion's soldiers were conveyed in two transports; these were accompanied by another smaller vessel, and two more of thirty oars. Beside the arms of those who attended him, he took with him two thousand shields, a large quantity of darts and javelins, and a considerable supply of provisions, that nothing might be wanting in the expedition; for they put off to the main sea, because they did not think it safe to coast it along, being informed that Philistus was stationed off Japygia to watch their motions. Having sailed with a gentle wind about twelve days,

on the thirteenth they arrived at Pachynus, a promontory in Sicily. There the pilot advised Dion to land his men immediately for if they once doubled the cape, they might continue at sea a long time before they could have a gale from the south at that season of the year. But Dion, who was afraid of making a descent too near the enemy, and chose rather to make good his landing in some remoter part of the island, doubled the cape notwithstanding. They had not sailed far before a strong gale from the north and a high sea drove them quite off Sicily. At the same time there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning; for it was about the rising of Arcturus; and it was accompanied with such dreadful rains, and the weather was, in every respect, so tempestuous, that the affrighted sailors knew not where they were, till they found themselves driven by the violence of the storm to Cercina on the coast of Africa. This craggy island was surrounded with such dangerous rocks, that they narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces; but by working hard with their poles they kept clear with much difficulty, till the storm abated. They were then informed by a vessel, which accidentally came up with them that they were at the head of what is called the Great Syrtis.† In this horrible situation they were further disheartened by finding themselves becalmed; but after beating about for some time, a gale sprung up suddenly from the south. On this unexpected change, as the wind increased upon them, they made all their sail, and, exploring the assistance of the gods, once more put off to sea in quest of Sicily. After an easy passage of five days, they arrived at Minoa, a small town in Sicily,‡ belonging to the Carthaginians. Synalus,§ a friend of Dion's, was then governor of the place, and as he knew not that this little fleet belonged to Dion, he attempted to prevent the landing of his men. The soldiers leaped out of the vessels in arms, but killed none that opposed them; for Dion, on account of his friendship with Synalus, had forbidden them. How

* This superstition prevailed no less amongst the Romans than amongst the Greeks. See the life of Brutus.

† Not far from Tripoli.

‡ On the south coast.

§ Diodorus calls him Pylas.

ever, they ran in one body with the fugitives into the town, and thus made themselves masters of it. When Dion and the governor met, mutual salutations passed between them, and the former restored him to his town unhurt. Synalus, in return, entertained his soldiers, and supplied him with necessities.

It happened that Dionysius, a little before this, had sailed with eighty ships for Italy, and this absence of his gave them no small encouragement. Inasmuch that when Dion invited his men to refresh themselves for some time after their fatigues at sea, they thought of nothing but making a proper use of the present moment, and called upon him with one voice, to lead them to Syracuse; he therefore left his useless arms and baggage with Synalus, and, having engaged him to transmit them to him at a proper opportunity, marched for Syracuse. Two hundred of the Agrigentine cavalry, who inhabited the country about Ecnomus, immediately revolted, and joined him in his march, and these were followed by the inhabitants of Gela.

The news of his arrival soon reaching Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, and was appointed regent in the absence of Dionysius, immediately despatched letters to acquaint him of the event. In the meanwhile he applied himself to prevent all tumults in the city, for the people were greatly animated on the report of Dion's arrival, though the uncertainty they were under as yet kept them quiet. A singular accident happened to the courier who was despatched with letters for Dionysius; as he was passing through the territory of Rhegium to Caulonia, where the tyrant then was, he met an acquaintance of his returning home with a newly offered sacrifice, and having taken a little of the flesh for his own use,* he made the best of his way. At night, however, he found it necessary to take a little rest, and retired to sleep in a wood by the side of the road. A wolf, allured by the smell of the flesh, came up while he was asleep and carried it off, together with the bag of letters to which it was

fastened. When the courier awakened he sought a long time to no purpose for his despatches, and being determined not to face Dionysius without them, he absconded. Thus it was a considerable time after, and from other hands, that Dionysius was informed of Dion's arrival in Sicily.

Dion, in his march, was joined by the Camarinæans, and many revoltors from the territory of Syracuse. The Leontines and Campanians, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipolæ, being misled by a report designedly propagated by Dion, that he intended to attack their cities first, quitted their present station, and went to take care of their own concerns. Dion being informed of this, while he lay near Acraë, decamped in the night, and came to the river Anapus, which is at the distance of ten furlongs from the city. There he halted, and sacrificed by the river, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. The diviners informed him that the gods gave a promise of victory, and as he had himself assumed a garland at the sacrifice, all that were present immediately did the same. He was now joined by about five thousand who were, indeed, ill furnished with arms; but their courage supplied that deficiency.† When he gave orders to march, *Liberty* was the word, and they rushed forward with the highest acclamations of joy. The most considerable citizens of Syracuse, dressed all in white, met him at the gates. The populace fell with great fury on Dionysius's party; but in particular they seized his spies, a set of wretches hated by gods and men, who went about the city to collect the sentiments of the inhabitants, in order to communicate them to the tyrant. These were the first that suffered, being knocked down wherever they were met. When Timocrates found that he could not join the garrison in the citadel, he fled on horseback out of the city, and spread a general terror and dismay where he passed; magnifying all the while the forces of Dion, that it might not appear a slight effort, against which he was unable to defend the place.

Dion now made his public entry into

* To carry home part of the victim, and so give part of it to any person that the bearer met, were acts of religion.

† Diodorus says he was soon joined by 20,000, and that when he reached Syracuse, he had not fewer than 50,000.

the town; he was dressed in a magnificent suit of armour, his brother Megacles marching on the right hand, and Callippus the Athenian on the left, with garlands on their heads. He was followed by a hundred foreign soldiers, who were his body guard; and after these marched the rest of the army in proper order, under the conduct of their respective officers. The Syracusans looked upon this procession as sacred. They considered it as the triumphal entry of liberty, which would once more establish the popular government, after a suppression of forty-eight years.

When Dion entered at the Menitidian gate, silence was commanded by sound of trumpet, and he ordered freedom to be proclaimed to the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians, in the name of Dion and Megacles, who came to abolish tyranny. Being desirous to address the people in a speech, he marched up to the Acradina. As he passed through the streets, the people prepared their victims on tables placed before their doors, scattered flowers on his head, and offered up their prayers to him as to their tutelary deity. At the foot of the citadel, under the pentapylæ, there was a lofty sundial,* which had been placed there by Dionysius. From the eminence of this building he addressed the citizens, and exhorted them earnestly to assert their liberties. The people, in their turn, nominated Dion and his brother prætors of the city, and, at their request, appointed them twenty colleagues, half of whom were of those who returned with Dion from exile.

At first it was considered by the soothsayers as a good omen, that Dion, when he addressed the people had under his feet the stately edifice which Dionysius had erected; but upon reflection that this edifice, on which he had been declared general, was a sundial, they were apprehensive that his present power and grandeur might be subject to decline.

Dion, in the next place, took the castle of Epipolæ, released the prison-

* Pherecydes was the first who invented dials to mark the hour of the day, about three hundred years after the time of Homer. But before his time the Phœnicians had contrived a dial in the isle of Scyros, which described the solstices.

ers who were confined there, and invested it with a strong wall. Seven days after this event, Dionysius arrived from Italy, and entered the citadel from the sea. Dion, at the same time, received from Synalus the arms and ammunition he had left with him. These he distributed amongst the citizens, as far as they would go; the rest armed themselves as well as they were able, and all expressed the utmost alacrity for the service. Dionysius, at first sent agents in a private manner to Dion, to try what terms might be made with them. Dion refused to hear any overtures in private. The Syracusans, he told them, were now a free people, and what they had to offer must be addressed to them in public. Upon this they made specious proposals to the citizens, promised them an abatement of their taxes, and an exemption from serving in the wars, even though those wars should be undertaken by their own approbation. The Syracusans held these proposals in derision; and Dion answered, that it would be in vain for Dionysius to speak of terms without resigning, in the first place, the regal government, and that if he took this measure, he might depend on all the good offices so near a relation might be inclined to do him; at least in every thing that was just and reasonable. Dionysius seemed to consent to these terms, and again sent his agents to desire that a deputation of the Syracusans would attend him in the citadel, in order to settle articles for the public tranquillity. He assured them that he had such to offer them as they could not but accept; and that on the other hand, he was equally willing to come into such as they had to offer him. Dion, therefore, selected a number of the citizens for this deputation; and the general report from the citadel was, that Dionysius would resign his authority in a voluntary manner.

This, however, was no more than a stratagem to amuse the Syracusans. The deputies no sooner arrived than they were imprisoned; and early next morning, after he had plied the mercenaries with wine, he ordered them to sally out and attack the wall which had been built by Dion. This unexpected assault was carried on with great vigour by the barbarians. They

broke through the works, and falling with great impetuosity, and loud shouts on the Syracusans, soon put them to flight. Dion's foreign troops took the alarm, and hastened to their relief; but the precipitate flight of the citizens disordered their ranks, and rendered it difficult for them to give any effectual assistance. Dion perceiving that in this tumult, his orders could not be heard, instructed them by his example, and charged the thickest of the enemy.

The battle, where he fought in person, was fierce and bloody. He was known to the enemy as well as to his own party; and they rushed with the utmost violence to the quarter where he fought. His age, indeed, rendered him unfit for such an engagement, but he maintained the fight with great vigour, and cut in pieces many of the enemy that attacked him. At length he was wounded in the head with a lance; his shield was pierced through in many places with the darts and spears that were levelled against him; and his armour no longer resisting the blows he received in this close engagement, he fell to the ground. He was immediately carried off by his soldiers, and leaving the command to Timonides, he rode about the city to rally the fugitives. Soon after he brought a detachment of foreign soldiers, which he had left to guard the Acradina, as a fresh reserve against the enemy; this, however, was unnecessary. They had placed their whole hopes of retaking the city in their first sally, and finding so powerful a resistance, fatigued with the action, they retreated into the citadel. As soon as they began to fall back, the Greek soldiers bore hard upon them, and pursued them to the walls. Dion lost seventy-four men, and a very great number of the enemy fell in this action. The victory was so important that the Syracusans rewarded each of the foreign soldiers with a hundred minæ, and Dion was presented by his army with a crown of gold.

Soon after this, messengers came from Dionysius with letters to Dion from the women of his family. Besides these, there was one inscribed "Hipparinus to his father Dion;" for this was the name of Dion's son. Timæus says, indeed, that he was called Aretæus, from his mother Arete;

but I think credit is rather to be given to Timonides, who was his friend and fellow soldier. The rest of the letters, which were read openly before the Syracusans, contained various solicitations and entreaties from the women. The letter which appeared to come from Hipparinus, the people, out of respect to the father, would not have suffered to be opened in public; but Dion insisted that it should be so. It proved to be a letter from Dionysius himself, directed indeed to Dion, but in reality addressed to the people of Syracuse; for though it carried the air of request and apology, it had an obvious tendency to render Dion obnoxious to the citizens. He reminded him of the zeal he had formerly shown for his service; he threatened him through his dearest connexions, his sister, his son, and his wife; and his menaces were followed by the most passionate entreaties, and the most abject lamentations. But the most trying part of his address was that where he entreated Dion not to destroy the government, and give that freedom to his inveterate enemies by means of which they would prosecute him to death, but to retain the regal power himself, for the protection of his family and friends.

This letter did not produce those sentiments in the people which it should naturally have done. Instead of exciting admiration of that noble firmness and magnanimity, which could prefer the public utility to the tenderest private connexions, it occasioned jealousies and fears. The people saw, or thought they saw, that Dion was under an absolute necessity of being favourable to Dionysius. They already began to wish for another general, and it was with peculiar satisfaction they heard of the arrival of Heraclides. This Heraclides, who had been banished by the tyrant, had once a distinguished command in the army, and was a man of considerable military abilities, but irresolute, inconstant, and particularly unsteady when he had a colleague in command. He had, some time before, had a difference with Dion in Peloponnesus, and therefore resolved on his own strength to make war on Dionysius. When he arrived at Syracuse, he found the tyrant close besieged, and the Syracusans elated with

their success. His first object, therefore, was to court the people, and for this purpose he had all the necessary talents; an insinuating address, and that kind of flattery which is so grateful to the multitude. This business was the more easy to him, as the forbidding gravity of Dion was thought too haughty for a popular state; besides, the Syracusans, already insolent with success, assumed the spirit of a free people, though they had not in reality their freedom. Thus they convened themselves without any summons, and appointed Heraclides their admiral; indeed, when Dion remonstrated against that proceeding, and showed them that by thus constituting Heraclides admiral, they superseded the office of general, which they had before conferred on him, with some reluctance they deprived Heraclides of the commission they had given him. When this affair was settled, Dion invited Heraclides to his house, and gently expostulated with him on the impropriety of attending to a punctilio of honour, at a time when the least inattention to the common cause might be the ruin of the whole. He then called an assembly, appointed Heraclides admiral, and prevailed with the citizens to allow him such a guard as they had before granted to himself. Heraclides treated Dion with all the appearance of respect, acknowledged his obligations to him, and seemed attentive to his commands; but in private he corrupted the people, and encouraged a spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction; so that Dion was involved in continual disturbances and disquiet. If he advised that Dionysius should be permitted to make his retreat in safety, he was censured as designing to favour and protect him; if, to avoid those suspicions, he was for continuing the siege, he was accused of protracting the war, that he might the longer retain his command, and keep the citizens in subjection.

There was in the city one Sosis, infamous for his insolence and villany, who thought the perfection of liberty was the licentiousness of speech. This fellow openly attacked Dion, and told the people in public assembly, that they had only changed the inattention of a drunken and dissolute tyrant, for the crafty vigilance of a sober master. Im-

mediately after this, he left the assembly, and next day was running naked through the streets, as if from somebody that pursued him, with his head and face covered with blood. In this condition he ran into the market-place, and told the people that he had been assaulted by Dion's foreign soldiers; at the same time showing them a wound in his head, which, he said, they had given him. Dion, upon this, was generally condemned, and accused of silencing the people by sanguinary methods; he came, however, before this irregular and tumultuous assembly in his own vindication, and made it appear that this Sosis was brother to one of Dionysius's guards, and that he had been engaged by him to raise a tumult in the city; the only resource the tyrant had now left, being that of exciting dissensions amongst the people. The surgeons also, who examined the wound, found that it was not occasioned by any violent blow. The wounds made by weapons are generally deepest in the middle; but this was both superficial, and of an equal depth from one end to the other; besides, being discontinuous, it did not appear to be the effect of one incision, but to have been made at different times, probably as he was best able to endure the pain. At the same time there were some who deposed, that having seen Sosis running naked and wounded, and being informed by him, that he was flying from the pursuit of Dion's foreign soldiers, who had just then wounded him, they hasted to take the pursuers; that, however, they could meet with no such persons, but found a razor lying under a hollow stone near the place from whence they had observed him come. All these circumstances made strongly against him; but when his own servants gave evidence, that he went out of his house alone before daylight, with a razor in his hand, Dion's accusers withdrew. The people, by a general vote, condemned Sosis to die, and were once more reconciled to Dion.

Nevertheless their jealousy of his soldiers remained; and as the war was now principally carried on by sea, Philistus being come to the support of Dionysius, with a considerable fleet from Japygia, they did not see the necessity of retaining in their service those

Greeks who were no seamen, and must depend for protection on the naval force. Their confidence in their own strength was likewise greatly increased by an advantage they had gained at sea against Philistus, whom they used in a very barbarous manner. Ephorus relates, that, after his ship was taken, he slew himself. But Timonides, who attended Dion from the beginning of the war, writing to Speusippus the philosopher, gives the story thus. Philistus's galley having run aground, he was taken prisoner alive; and after being disarmed and stripped, was exposed naked, though an old man, to every kind of insult. They afterwards cut off his head, and ordered their children to drag his body through the Acradina, and throw it into the quarry. Timæus represents the indignity offered his remains to be still greater. The boys, he says, tied a rope about his lame leg, and so dragged him through the city, the Syracusans, in the meanwhile, insulting over his carcass, when they saw him tied by the leg who had said, *It would ill become Dionysius to fly from his throne by the swiftness of his horse, which he ought never to quit till he was dragged from it by the heels.* Philistus, however, tells us, that this was not said to Dionysius by himself, but by another. It is plain, at the same time, that Timæus takes every occasion, from Philistus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the keenest reproaches. Those whom he injured are in some degree excusable, if, in their resentment, they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works; wherefore should they exhibit him with all the exaggerations of scurrility, in those scenes of distress to which fortune sometimes reduces the best of men? On the other hand, Ephorus is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct; but with all his eloquence, with all his art, he cannot rescue Philistus from the imputation of being the most strenuous assertor of arbitrary power, of being the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury the

magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor insults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duty of the historian.

After the death of Philistus, Dionysius offered to surrender the citadel to Dion, together with the arms, provisions, and soldiers, and an advance of five months' pay, on condition that he might be permitted to retire into Italy, and there enjoy the revenue of Gyata, a fruitful tract of country in the territory of Syracuse, reaching from the sea to the middle of the country. Dion refusing to negotiate on his own account, referred the ambassadors to the Syracusans; and as they expected that Dionysius would shortly come alive into their hands, they were dismissed without audience. Upon this, the tyrant, leaving his eldest son Apollocrates to defend the citadel, embarked with his most valuable treasures and a few select friends, and, sailing with a fair wind, escaped Heraclides the admiral.

The tyrant's escape greatly exasperated the people against Heraclides; and, in order to appease them, he proposed by Hippo, one of the orators, that there should be an equal division of lands; alleging, that equality was the first foundation of civil liberty, and that poverty and slavery were synonymous terms. At the same time that he supported Hippo in the promotion of this scheme, he encouraged the faction against Dion, who opposed it. At length he prevailed with the people not only to pass this law, but to make a decree, that the pay of the foreign soldiers should be stopped, and new commanders chosen, that they might no longer be subject to the severe discipline of Dion. Thus, like the patient, who, after a lingering sickness, makes too rash a use of the first returns of health, and rejects the sober and gradual regimen of his physician, the citizens, who had long laboured under the yoke of slavery, took too precipitate steps to freedom, and refused the salutary counsels and conduct of their deliverer.

It was about the midst of summer when the assembly was summoned for the election of new officers; and, for the space of fifteen days, there were

the most dreadful thunders, and the most alarming prodigies. The religious fears that these prodigies excited made these people decline the choosing of officers. When the weather grew more serene, the orators again exhorted them to proceed to the business; but no sooner had they begun, than a draught ox, which had neither received any provocation from the driver, nor could be terrified by the crowds and noise to which he had been accustomed, suddenly broke from his yoke, and running furiously into the assembly, drove the people in great disorder before him: from thence, throwing down all that stood in his way, he ran over that part of the city which afterwards fell into the enemy's hands. The Syracusans, however, regardless of these things, elected five-and-twenty officers, among whom was Heraclides. At the same time they privately endeavoured to draw off Dion's men, promising, if they would desert him, to make them citizens of Syracuse. But the soldiers were faithful to their general, and placing him in the middle of a battalion, marched out of the city. They did not, on this occasion, offer any violence to the inhabitants, but they severely reproached them for their baseness and ingratitude. The smallness of their number, and their declining to act offensively, put the citizens on the view of cutting them off before they escaped out of the city; and with this design they fell upon their rear. Dion was here in a great dilemma: he was under the necessity either of fighting against his countrymen, or of suffering himself and his faithful soldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore entreated the Syracusans to desist: he stretched forth his hands to them, and pointed to the citadel full of soldiers, who were happy in being spectators of these dissensions amongst their enemies. But the torrent of the populace, agitated and driven forwards by the seditious breath of the orators, was not to be stopped by persuasion. He, therefore, commanded his men to advance with shouts and clashing of arms, but not to attack them. The Syracusans, upon this, fled immediately through the streets, though no one pursued them, for Dion retreated with his men into the territories of the Leontines.

The very women laughed at the new officers for this cowardly flight, and the latter, to recover their reputation, ordered the citizens to arms, pursued Dion, and came up with him as he was passing a river. A skirmish began between the cavalry; but when they found Dion no longer disposed to bear these indignities with his usual paternal patience; when they observed him drawing up his men for battle, with all the eagerness of strong resentment, they once more turned their backs, and, with the loss of some few men, fled to the city in a more disgraceful and more cowardly manner than before.

The Leontines received Dion in a very honourable manner, gave money to his soldiers, and made them free of their city. They also sent messengers to Syracuse with requisitions, that his men might have justice done them, and receive their pay. The Syracusans, in return, sent other messengers, with impeachments against Dion; but when the matter was debated at Leontium, in full assembly of the allies, they evidently appeared to be in fault. They refused, nevertheless, to stand to the award of this assembly; for the recent recovery of their liberties had made them insolent, and the popular power was without control; their very commanders being no more than servile dependents on the multitude.

About this time Dionysius sent a fleet under Nypsius, the Neapolitan, with provisions and pay for the garrison in the citadel. The Syracusans overcame him, and took four of his ships; but they made an ill use of their success. Destitute of all discipline, they celebrated the victory with the most riotous extravagance; and at a time when they thought themselves secure of taking the citadel, they lost the city. Nypsius observing their disorder, their night revels and debauches, in which their commanders, either from inclination, or through fear of offending them, were as deeply engaged as themselves, took advantage of this opportunity, broke through their walls, and exposed the city to the violence and depredation of his soldiers.

The Syracusans at once perceived their folly and their misfortune; but the latter, in their present confusion, was not easy to be redressed. The soldiers

made dreadful havoc in the city ; they demolished the fortifications, put the men to the sword, and dragged the women and children shrieking to the citadel. The Syracusan officers being unable to separate the citizens from the enemy, or to draw them up in any order, gave up all for lost. In this situation, while the Acradina itself was in danger of being taken, they naturally turned their thoughts on Dion ; but none had the courage to mention a man whom all had injured. In this emergency a voice was heard from the cavalry of the allies, crying, " Send for Dion and his Peloponnesians from Leontium." His name was no sooner mentioned than the people shouted for joy. With tears they implored that he might once more be at their head : they remembered his intrepidity in the most trying dangers ; they remembered the courage that he showed himself, and the confidence with which he inspired them when he led them against the enemy. Archonides and Telesides from the auxiliaries, and Hellanicus, with four more from the cavalry, were immediately despatched to Leontium, where, making the best of their way, they arrived in the close of the evening. They instantly threw themselves at the feet of Dion, and related, with tears, the deplorable condition of the Syracusans. The Leontines and Peloponnesians soon gathered about them, conjecturing from their haste, and the manner of their address, that their business had something extraordinary in it.

Dion immediately summoned an assembly, and the people being soon collected, Archonides and Hellanicus briefly related the distress of the Syracusans, entreated the foreign soldiers to forget the injuries they had done them, and once more to assist that unfortunate people, who had already suffered more for their ingratitude than even they whom they had injured would have inflicted upon them. When they had thus spoken, a profound silence ensued ; upon which Dion arose, and attempted to speak, but was prevented by his tears. His soldiers, who were greatly affected with their general's sorrow, entreated him to moderate his grief, and proceed. After he had recovered himself a little, he spoke to the following purpose : " Peloponne-

sians and confederates, I have called you together, that you may consult on your respective affairs. My measures are taken : I cannot hesitate what to do when Syracuse is perishing. If I can not save it, I will, at least, hasten thither, and fall beneath the ruins of my country ; for you, if you can yet persuade yourself to assist the most unfortunate and inconsiderate of men, it may be in your power to save from destruction a city which was the work of your own hands.* But if your pity for the Syracusans be sacrificed to your resentment, may the gods reward your fidelity, your kindness to Dion ! and remember, that as he would not desert you, when you were injured, so neither could he abandon his falling country !"

He had hardly ended, when the soldiers signified their readiness for the service by loud acclamations, and called upon him to march directly to the relief of Syracuse. The messengers embraced them, and entreated the gods to shower their blessings on Dion and the Peloponnesians. When the noise subsided, Dion gave orders that the men should repair to their quarters, and, after the necessary refreshments, assemble in the same place completely armed ; for he intended to march that very night.

The soldiers of Dionysius, after ravaging the city during the whole day, retired at night, with the loss of a few men, into the citadel. This small respite once more encouraged the demagogues of the city, who presuming that the enemy would not repeat their hostilities, dissuaded the people from admitting Dion and his foreign soldiers. They advised them not to give up the honour of saving the city to strangers, but to defend their liberty themselves. Upon this the generals sent other messengers to Dion to countermand his march ; while, on the other hand, the cavalry and many of the principal citizens sent their requests that he would hasten it. Thus invited by one party, and rejected by another, he came forward but slowly ; and, at night, the faction that opposed him set a guard

* Strabo says, that Syracuse was built in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth to Syracuse.

upon the gates to prevent his entering.

Nysius now made a fresh sally from the citadel, with still greater numbers and greater fury than before. After totally demolishing the remaining part of the fortification, he fell to ravaging the city. The slaughter was dreadful; men, women, and children fell indiscriminately by the sword; for the object of the enemy was not so much plunder as destruction. Dionysius despaired of regaining his lost empire, and, in his mortal hatred of the Syracusans, he determined to bury it in the ruins of their city. It was resolved, therefore, that, before Dion's succours could arrive, they should destroy it the quickest way by laying it in ashes. Accordingly they set fire to those parts that were at hand by brands and torches; and to the remoter parts by shooting flaming arrows. The citizens, in the utmost consternation, fled everywhere before them. Those who, to avoid the fire, had fled from their houses, were put to the sword in the streets; and they who sought for refuge in their houses, were again driven out by the flames; many were burned to death, and many perished beneath the ruins of their houses.

This terrible distress, by universal consent, opened the gates for Dion. After being informed that the enemy had retreated into the citadel, he made no great haste; but early in the morning some horsemen carried him the news of a fresh assault. These were followed by some, even of those who had recently opposed his coming, but who now implored him to fly to their relief. As the conflagration and destruction increased, Heraclides despatched his brother, and after him his uncle Theodotes, to entreat the assistance of Dion; for they were now no longer in a capacity of opposing the enemy; he was wounded himself, and great part of the city was laid in ashes.

When Dion received this news, he was about sixty furlongs from the city. After he had acquainted his soldiers with the dreadful exigency, and exhorted them to behave with resolution, they no longer marched, but ran; and in their way they were met by numbers, who entreated them, if possible, to go still faster. By the eager and

vigorous speed of the soldiers, Dion quickly arrived at the city; and, entering by the part called Hecatompodon, he ordered his light troops immediately to charge the enemy, that the Syracusans might take courage at the sight of them. In the meanwhile he drew up his heavy-armed men, with such of the citizens as had joined him, and divided them into several small bodies, of greater depth than breadth, that he might intimidate the enemy by attacking them in several quarters at once. He advanced to the engagement at the head of his men, amidst a confused noise of shouts, plaudits, prayers, and vows, which the Syracusans offered up for their deliverer, their tutelary deity, for so they termed him now; and his foreign soldiers they called their brethren and fellow-citizens. At this time, perhaps, there was not one wretch so selfishly fond of life that he did not hold Dion's safety dearer than his own, or that of all his fellow-citizens, while they saw him advancing first in the front of danger, through blood and fire, and over heaps of the slain.

There was, indeed, something terrible in the appearance of the enemy, who, animated by rage and despair, had posted themselves in the ruins of the ramparts, so that it was extremely dangerous and difficult to approach them. But the apprehensions of fire discouraged Dion's men the most, and distressed them in their march. They were surrounded by flames that raged on every side, and while they walked over burning ruins, through clouds of ashes and smoke, they were every moment in danger of being buried beneath the fall of half-consumed buildings. In all these difficulties they took infinite pains to keep close together, and maintain their ranks. When they came up to the enemy, a few only could engage at a time, on account of the narrowness and inequality of the ground. They fought, however, with great bravery, and, encouraged by the acclamations of the citizens, at length they routed Nysius, and most of his men escaped into the citadel, which was near at hand. Such of them as were dispersed and could not get in, were pursued and put to the sword. The present deplorable state of the city afforded neither time nor propriety for

that joy and those congratulations which usually follow victory. All were busy in saving the remains of the conflagrations; and though they laboured hard during the whole night, it was with great difficulty that the fire was extinguished.

Not one orator of the popular faction durst any longer remain in the city. By their flight they at once confessed their guilt, and avoided punishment. Heraclides, however, and Theodotes, surrendered themselves to Dion. They acknowledged their error, and entreated that he would not imitate them in the cruel treatment they had shown him. They forgot not to add how much it would be for his honour, who was unequalled in other virtues, to restrain his resentments; and, by forgiving the ungrateful, to testify that superiority of spirit for which they had contended with him. His friends, however, advised him by no means to pardon these factious and invidious men, but to give them up to his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the ambition of demagogues, no less destructive than that of tyrants. Dion, on the other hand, endeavoured to mitigate their resentments. "Other generals," said he, "employ themselves chiefly in military studies; but, by being long conversant in the academy, I have learned to subdue my passions, and to restrain the impulses of enmity and anger. To prove that I have really gained such a victory over myself, it is not sufficient merely to be kind to men of virtue, out to be indulgent and reconcilable to the injurious. If I have excelled Heraclides in military and political abilities, I am resolved not to be inferior to him in justice and clemency; since to have the advantage in those is the first degree of excellence. The honours of conquest are never wholly our own; for though the conqueror may stand unrivalled, fortune will claim her share in his success. Heraclides may be treacherous, invidious, and malicious; but must Dion, therefore, sully his glories by the indulgence of resentment? The laws, indeed, allow the revenge of an injury to be more justifiable than the commission of it; but both proceed originally from the infirmity of human nature. Besides, there is hardly any malignity so inve-

terate, that it may not be overcome by kindness, and softened by repeated favours." Agreeably to these sentiments, Dion pardoned Heraclides and dismissed him.

His first object was to repair the wall which he had formerly erected around the citadel; and, for this purpose, he ordered each of the citizens to furnish a palisado, and bring it to the works. When they had done this, he sent them to their repose, and employed his own men the whole night in drawing a line of circumvallation around the citadel, which both the enemy and the citizens were astonished to find completed in the morning.

After the dead were buried, and the prisoners, to the amount of two thousand, ransomed, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides moved, that Dion should be declared commander in chief both at sea and land. This motion was approved of by the nobility, and the commons were desired to confirm it; but the sailors and artificers opposed it in a tumultuous manner. They were unwilling that Heraclides should lose his command at sea; for though they had no good opinion of his principles, they knew that he would be more indulgent than Dion, and more ready to gratify their inclinations. Dion therefore gave up his point, and agreed that Heraclides should continue admiral. But when the equal distribution of lands was moved for, he opposed it, and repealed all the decrees which had formerly passed on the measure, by which means he once more incurred the displeasure of the people. Heraclides again made his advantage of this, and harangued the soldiers and sailors at Messina, accusing Dion of a design to make himself absolute. At the same time he privately corresponded with Dionysius, by means of Pharax, a Spartan. When the nobility got intelligence of this, there was a sedition in the army, and the city was greatly distressed by want of provisions. Dion was now at a loss what measures to pursue; and all his friends condemned him for strengthening the hands of so perverse and invidious a wretch as Heraclides.

Pharax was encamped at Neopolis, in the territory of Agrigentum; and Dion drew out the Syracusans, bu

not with an intent to engage him till he found a convenient opportunity. This gave Heraclides and his seamen an occasion of exclaiming, that he delayed fighting only that he might the longer continue in command. He was forced to action, therefore, contrary to his inclinations, and was beaten. His loss, indeed, was small, and his defeat was owing more to a misunderstanding in his own army, than to the superior courage of the enemy; he therefore resolved to renew the engagement, and, after animating and encouraging his men to redeem their lost credit, he drew them up in form of battle. In the evening, however, he received intelligence, that Heraclides was sailing for Syracuse, with intent to possess himself of the city, and to shut him out. Upon this he made a draught of the bravest and most active of the cavalry, and rode with such expedition that he reached the city by nine in the morning, after a march of seven hundred furlongs. Heraclides, though he made all the sail he could, was too late, and he therefore tacked about and stood out to sea. While he was undetermined what course to steer, he met Gæsilus the Spartan, who informed him, that he was sent to command in chief in Sicily, as Gylippus had done before. Heraclides immediately accepted him, and boasted to his allies that he had found in this Spartan an antidote to the power of Dion. At the same time he sent a herald to Syracuse, ordering the citizens to receive Gæsilus for their general. Dion answered, that the Syracusans had already a sufficient number of generals; and that, if it were necessary for them to have a Spartan, he was himself a citizen of Sparta.

Gæsilus having now no hopes of the command, waited upon Dion, and, by his mediation, reconciled him to Heraclides. This reconciliation was confirmed by the most solemn oaths, and Gæsilus himself was guarantee of the treaty; and undertook to punish Heraclides, in case of any future breach of faith. The Syracusans upon this, discharged their navy, as they found no advantages from it equal to the expense of keeping it on foot, and to those inconveniences it brought upon them, by being a continual source of sedi-

tions. At the same time they continued the siege, and invested the city with another wall. As the besieged were cut off from further supplies, when provisions failed, the soldiers began to mutiny, so that Apollocrates found himself under a necessity of coming to terms with Dion, and offered to deliver up the citadel to him, with all the arms and stores, on condition that he might have five galleys, and be permitted to retire in safety with his mother and sisters. Dion granted his request, and with these he sailed to Dionysius. He was no sooner under sail than the whole city of Syracuse assembled to behold the joyful sight. Their hearts were so full of this interesting event, that they even expressed their anger against those who were absent, and could not be witnesses with what glory the sun that day rose upon Syracuse, delivered at last from the chains of slavery. As this flight of Dionysius was one of the most memorable vicissitudes of fortune that is recorded in history, and as no tyranny was ever more effectually established than his, how great must their joy and their self-complacency have been, after they had destroyed it by such inconsiderable means!

When Apollocrates was gone, and Dion went to take possession of the citadel, the women could not wait till he entered, but ran to meet him at the gate. Aristomache came first, leading Dion's son, and Arete followed her in tears, fearful and apprehensive of meeting her husband, after she had been so long in the possession of another. Dion first embraced his sister, then his son; after which Aristomache presented Arete to him, with this address: — "Your banishment, Dion, made us all equally miserable. Your return and your success have made us all happy, except her whom I had the misfortune to see, by cruel compulsion, given to another, while you were yet alive. We are now entirely in your disposal; but how will you determine concerning this unhappy woman? And how must she salute you? As her uncle, or as her husband?" Dion was affected by this tender intercession, and wept. He embraced Arete with great affection, put his son into her hands, and desired

ber to retire to his own house, where he purposed to reside; for the city he immediately delivered to the Syracusans.

All things had now succeeded to his wish; but he, by no means, sought to reap the first advantages of his good fortune. His first object was to gratify his friends, to reward his allies, and to give his fellow-citizens and foreign soldiers proper marks of his favour, in which his munificence even exceeded his abilities. As to himself, he lived in a plain and frugal manner, which, on this occasion, in particular, was universally admired. For while the fame of his actions and the reputation of his valour was spread through Sicily and Greece, he seemed rather to live with Plato on the sparing simplicity of the academic life, than among soldiers, who look upon every species of luxury as a compensation for the toils and dangers of war. Though Plato himself wrote to him, that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, he seems not to have carried his attentions beyond one particular part of one city, the academy. His judges in that society, he knew, would not so much regard the greatness of his performances, his courage, or his victories, as that temper of mind with which he bore prosperity, and that moderation with which he sustained his happier fortunes. He did not in the least relax the severity of his manners; he kept the same reserve to the people, though condescension was, at this time, politically necessary; and though Plato, as we have already observed, had expostulated with him on this account, and told him, that *austerity was the companion of solitude*. He had certainly a natural antipathy to complaisance; and he had moreover a design, by his own example, to reform the manners of the Syracusans, which were become vain, dissolute, and immodest. Heraclides once more began to oppose him. Dion sent for him to attend at the council; and he made answer, that he would not attend in any other capacity than as a private citizen, at a public assembly. Soon after this, he impeached Dion of declining to demolish the citadel, and of preventing the people from opening the tomb of Dionysius, and dragging out the body. He accused

him likewise of sending for counsellors and ministers to Corinth, in contempt of his fellow-citizens. And it is true that he had engaged some Corinthians to assist him in settling his plan of government. His intention was to restrain the unlimited power of the popular administration (which cannot properly be called a government, but, as Plato terms it, a warehouse of governments),* and to establish the constitution on the Lacedæmonian and Cretan plan. This was a mixture of the regal and popular governments, or rather an aristocracy. Dion knew that the Corinthians were governed chiefly by the nobility, and that the influence of the people rather interfered. He foresaw that Heraclides would be no inconsiderable impediment to his scheme. He knew him to be factious, turbulent, and inconstant; and he therefore gave him up to those who advised to kill him, though he had before saved him out of their hands. Accordingly they broke into his house, and murdered him. His death was at first resented by the citizens; but when Dion gave him a magnificent funeral, attended the dead body with his soldiers, and pronounced an oration to the people, their resentment went off. Indeed, they were sensible that the city would never be at peace whilst the competitions of Dion and Heraclides subsisted.

Dion had a friend named Callippus, an Athenian, with whom he first became acquainted, not on account of his literary merit, but, according to Plato, because he happened to be introduced by him to some religious mysteries. He had always attended him in the army, and was in great esteem. He was the first of his friends who marched along with him into Syracuse with a garland on his head, and he had distinguished himself in every action. This man finding that Dion's chief friends had fallen in the war; that, since the death of Heraclides the popular party was without a leader, and that he himself stood in great favour with the army, formed an execrable design against the life of his benefactor. His object was certainly the supreme command in Sicily, though some say he was bribed to it with twenty talents. For this purpose he drew several of the

* Repub. l. viii.

soldiers into a conspiracy against Dion, and his plot was conducted in a most artful manner. He constantly informed Dion of what he heard, or pretended to hear, said against him in the army. By this means he obtained such confidence, that he was allowed to converse privately with whom he thought proper, and to speak with the utmost freedom against Dion, that he might discover his secret enemies. Thus, in a short time, he drew about him all the seditious and discontented citizens; and if any one of different principles informed Dion that his integrity had been tried, he gave himself no concern about it, as that point had already been settled with Callippus.

While this conspiracy was on foot, Dion had a monstrous and dreadful apparition. As he was meditating one evening alone in the portico before his house, he heard a sudden noise, and turning about, perceived (for it was not yet dark) a woman of gigantic size at the end of the portico, in the form of one of the furies, as they are represented on the theatre, sweeping the floor with a broom. In his terror and amazement he sent for some of his friends, and, informing them of this prodigy, desired they would stay with him during the night. His mind was in the utmost disorder, and he was apprehensive, that, if they left him, the spectre would appear again; but he saw it no more. Soon after this, his only son, who was now almost grown up to manhood, upon some childish displeasure, or frivolous affront, threw himself from the top of the house, and was killed upon the spot.

While Dion was in this distress, Callippus was ripening the conspiracy; and, for this purpose, he propagated a report in Syracuse, that Dion, being now childless, had determined to adopt Apollocrates, the son of Dionysius, who was nephew to his wife, and grandson to his sister. The plot, however, was now suspected both by Dion, his wife, and sister. Dion, who had stained his honour, and tarnished his glories, by the murder of Heraclides, had, as we may suppose, his anxieties on that account; and he would frequently declare, that rather than live, not only in fear of his enemies, but in suspicion of his friends, he would die a thousand

deaths, and freely open his bosom to the assassin.

When Callippus found the women inquisitive and suspicious, he was afraid of the consequence, and asserted, with tears, his own integrity, offering to give them any pledge of his fidelity they might desire. They required that he would take the *great oath*; the form of which is as follows:—The person who takes it goes down into the temple of the Thesmophori, where, after the performance of some religious ceremonies, he puts on the purple robe of Proserpine, and, holding a flaming torch in his hand, proceeds on the oath. All this Callippus did without hesitation; and to show with what contempt he held the goddess, he appointed the execution of his conspiracy on the day of her festival. Indeed, he could hardly think that even this would enhance his guilt, or render him more obnoxious to the goddess, when he was the very person who had before initiated Dion in her sacred mysteries.

The conspiracy was now supported by numbers; and as Dion was surrounded by his friends, in the apartment where he usually entertained them, the conspirators invested the house, some securing the doors, and others the windows. The assassins, who were Zacynthians, came in unarmed, in their ordinary dress. Those who remained without made fast the doors. The Zacynthians fell upon Dion, and endeavoured to strangle him, but not succeeding in this, they called for a sword. No one, however, durst open the door, for Dion had many friends about him; yet they had, in effect, nothing to fear from these, for each concluded, that, by giving up Dion, he should consult his own safety. When they had waited some time, Lycon, a Syracusan, put a short sword through the window into the hands of a Zacynthian, who fell upon Dion, already stunned and senseless, and cut his throat like a victim at the altar. His sister, and his wife, who was pregnant, they imprisoned. In this unhappy situation she fell in labour, and was delivered of a son, whom they ventured to preserve; for Callippus was too much embroiled by his own affairs to attend to them, and the keepers of the prison were prevailed on to continue at it.

After Dion was cut off, and Callippus had the whole government of Syracuse in his hands, he had the presumption to write to the Athenians, whom, after the gods, he ought of all others to have dreaded, polluted as he was with the murder of his benefactor. But it has been observed, with great truth, of that state, that its good men are the best, and its bad men the worst in the world; as the soil of Attica produces the finest honey and the most fatal poisons. The success of Callippus did not long reproach the indulgence on the gods. He soon received the punishment he deserved; for, in attempting to take Catana, he lost Syracuse; upon which occasion he said, that he had lost a city, and got a cheese-grater.* Afterwards, at the siege of Messana, most of his men were cut off, and, amongst the rest, the murderers of Dion. As he was refused admission by every city in Sicily, and universally hated and despised, he passed into Italy, and made himself master of Rhe-

gium, but being no longer able to maintain his soldiers, he was slain by Leptines and Polyperchon with the very same sword with which Dion had been assassinated; for it was known by the size (being short, like the Spartan swords) and by the curious workmanship. Thus Callippus received the punishment due to his crimes.

When Aristomache and Arete were released out of prison, they were received by Ictes, a Syracusan, a friend of Dion's, who, for some time, entertained them with hospitality and good faith. Afterwards, however, being prevailed on by the enemies of Dion, he put them on board a vessel, under pretence of sending them to the Peloponnesus; but privately ordered the sailors to kill them in the passage, and throw the bodies overboard. Others say, that they and the infant were thrown alive into the sea. This wretch too paid the forfeit of his villany, for he was put to death by Timoleon; and the Syracusans, to revenge Dion, slew his two daughters, of which I have made more particular mention in the life of Timoleon.

But the word which signifies a cheese-grater in Greek is not *Catane* but *Patane*.



MARCUS BRUTUS.

THE great ancestor of Marcus Brutus was that Junius Brutus to whom the ancient Romans erected a statue of brass, and placed it in the capitol amongst their kings. He was represented with a drawn sword in his hand, to signify the spirit and firmness with which he vanquished the Tarquins; but, hard-tempered like the steel of which that sword was composed, and in no degree humanized by education, the same obdurate severity which impelled him against the tyrant, shut up his natural affection from his children, when he found those children conspiring for the support of tyranny. On the contrary, that Brutus, whose life we are now writing, had all the advantages that arise from the cultivation of philosophy. To his spirit, which was naturally sedate and mild, he gave vigour and activity by constant application. Upon the whole, he was happily formed to virtue, both by nature and education. Even the partisans of Cæsar ascribed to him everything that had the appearance of honour or generosity in the conspiracy, and all that was of a contrary complexion they laid to the charge of Cassius; who was, indeed, the friend and relation of Brutus, but by no means resembled him in the simplicity of his manners. It is universally allowed, that his mother, Servilia, was descended from Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius seditiously

aspired to the monarchy, went up to him in the *forum*, under a pretence of business, and, as Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would say, stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed for the purpose.* But the partisans of Cæsar would not allow that he was descended from Junius Brutus, whose family, they said, was extinct with his two sons.† Marcus Brutus, according to them, was a plebeian, descended from one Brutus, a steward, of mean extraction; and that the family had but lately risen to any dignity in the state. On the contrary, Posidonius the philosopher agrees with those historians who say that Junius Brutus had a third son, who was an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that Marcus Brutus was descended from him. He further tells us, that there were several illustrious persons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted, and who very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus.‡

* Livy, and other historians, relate this affair differently. Some of them say confidently, that Servilius, who was then general of the horse, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinnatus the dictator.

† Of this number is Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

‡ There were several distinguished persons of this family in the year of Rome 558; some of whom opposed the abrogation of the

Cato, the philosopher, was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who greatly admired and imitated the virtues of his uncle, and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the sects of the Greek philosophers, and understood their doctrines; but the Platonists stood highest in his esteem. He had no great opinion either of the new or of the middle academy; but applied himself wholly to the studies of the ancient. Antiochus of Ascalon was therefore his favourite, and he entertained his brother Ariston in his own house; a man, who, though inferior to some of the philosophers in learning, was equal to the first of them in modesty, prudence, and gentleness of manners. Empylus, who likewise lived with Brutus, as we find in his own epistles, and in those of his friends, was an orator, and left a short, but a well-written narrative of the death of Cæsar, entitled *Brutus*.

Brutus spoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and at the bar. In Greek he affected the sententious and laconic way. There are several instances of this in his epistles. Thus, in the beginning of the war, he wrote to the Permagenians:—"I hear you have given money to Dolabella. If you gave it willingly, you must own you injured me; if unwillingly, show it by giving willingly to me." Thus, on another occasion, to the Samians:—"Your deliberations are tedious; your actions slow; what, think you, will be the consequence?" Of the Patareans thus:—"The Xanthians rejected my kindness, and desperately made their country their grave. The Patareans confided in me, and retained their liberty. It is in your own choice to imitate the prudence of the Patareans, or to suffer the fate of the Xanthians." And such is the style of his most remarkable letters.

While he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition against Ptolemy. After Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato, being detained by business in the isle of Rhodes, sent Caninius to secure the

king's treasure; but suspecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where, after a fit of sickness, he staid for the re-establishment of his health. He obeyed the order with reluctance, both out of respect to Caninius, who was superseded with disgrace, and because he thought the employment illiberal, and by no means proper for a young man who was in pursuit of philosophy. Nevertheless he executed the commission with such diligence, that he had the approbation of Cato; and having turned the effects of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greatest part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, and Pompey and Cæsar were in arms against each other, it was generally believed that Brutus would join Cæsar, because his father had been put to death by Pompey. However, he thought it his duty to sacrifice his resentments to the interest of his country; and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, he joined his party, though before he would not even salute Pompey when he met him, esteeming it a crime to have any conversation with the murderer of his father. He now looked upon him as the head of the commonwealth; and, therefore, listing under his banner, he sailed for Sicily in quality of lieutenant to Sestius, who was governor of the island. There, however, he found no opportunity to distinguish himself; and being informed that Pompey and Cæsar were encamped near each other, and preparing for that battle on which the whole empire depended, he went voluntarily into Macedonia to have his share in the danger. Pompey, it is said, was so much surprised and pleased with his coming, that he rose to embrace him in the presence of his guards, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his superior. During the time that he was in camp, those hours that he did not spend with Pompey he employed in reading and study; and thus he passed the day before the battle of Pharsalia. It was the middle of summer, the heats were intense, the marshy situation of the camp disagreeable, and his tent bearers were long in coming. Nevertheless, though extremely harassed and fatigued, he did not anoint him-

Oppian law, and were besieged by the Roman women in their houses. LIVY, l. xxxiv. VAL. MAX. l. ix.

self till noon; and then, taking a morsel of bread, while others were at rest, or musing on the event of the ensuing day, he employed himself till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

Cæsar, it is said, had so high an esteem for him, that he ordered his officers by all means to save him, if he would surrender himself; and, if he refused, to let him escape with his life. Some have placed this kindness to the account of Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with whom Cæsar had connexions of a tender nature in the early part of his life.* Besides, as this amour was in full blow about the time when Brutus was born, Cæsar had some reason to believe he might be his son. The intrigue was notorious. When the senate was debating on the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline, Cato and Cæsar, who took different sides of the question, happened to sit near each other. In the midst of the business, a note was brought to Cæsar from without, which he read silently to himself. Cato, hereupon, loudly accused Cæsar of receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth; and Cæsar, finding that it had occasioned a disturbance in the senate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to be nothing but a lewd letter from his own sister Servilia, threw it back again to Cæsar. "Take it, you sot," said he, and went on with the public business.

After the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey was fled towards the sea, and Cæsar was storming the camp, Brutus escaped through one of the gates, and fled into a watery marsh, where he hid himself amongst the reeds. From thence he ventured out in the night, and got safe to Larissa. From Larissa he wrote to Cæsar, who expressed the greatest pleasure in hearing of his safety, sent for him, and entertained him amongst the first of his friends.

* These connexions were well known. Cæsar made her a present, on a certain occasion, of a pearl which cost him near 50,000*l*. In the civil wars he assigned to her a confiscated estate for a mere trifle; and when the people expressed their surprise at its cheapness, Cicero said humorously, *Quo melius emptam sciat, Tertia deducta est. Tertia* was a daughter of Servilia's, and *deducta* was a term in the procuring business.

When no one could give account which way Pompey was fled, Cæsar walked for some time alone with Brutus, to consult his opinion and finding that it was for Egypt, he rejected the opinions of the rest, and directed his march for that country. Pompey had, indeed, taken the route of Egypt, as Brutus conjectured; but he had already met his fate.

Brutus had so much influence with Cæsar, that he reconciled him to his friend Cassius; and when he spoke in behalf of the king of Africa, though there were many impeachments against him, he obtained for him a great part of his kingdom.† When he first began to speak on this occasion, Cæsar said, "I know not what this young man intends, but whatever it is, he intends it strongly." His mind was steady, and not easily moved by entreaties. His principles were reason, and honour, and virtue; and the ends to which these directed him he prosecuted with so much vigour, that he seldom failed of success. No flattery could induce him to attend to unjust petitions; and though that ductility of mind which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity is by some called good nature, he considered it as the greatest disgrace. He used to say, that he suspected those who could refuse no favours had not very honestly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæsar, previously to his expedition into Africa against Cato and Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Gallio Cisalpina. And this was very fortunate for that particular province, for while the inhabitants of other provinces were oppressed and treated like slaves, by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with so much kindness to the people under his jurisdiction that they were in some measure indemnified for their former sufferings. Yet he ascribed everything to the goodness of Cæsar; and it was no small gratification to the latter to find, on his return through Italy, not only Brutus himself, but all the cities under his command, ready to attend his progress, and industrious to do him honour.

† Plutarch must have been mistaken. It was Diotarus, and not the king of Africa, that Brutus pleaded for.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

As there were several prætorships vacant, it was the general opinion that the chief of them, which is the prætorship of the city, would be conferred either on Brutus or on Cassius. Some say that this competition heightened the variance that had already taken place between Brutus and Cassius; for there was a misunderstanding between them, though Cassius was allied to Brutus by marrying his sister Junia. Others say, that this competition was a political manœuvre of Cæsar's, who had encouraged it by favouring both their hopes in private. Be that as it may, Brutus had little more than the reputation of his virtue to set against the gallant actions performed by Cassius in the Parthian war. Cæsar weighed the merits of each; and after consulting with his friends, "Cassius," he said, "has the better title to it, notwithstanding, Brutus must have the first prætorship." Another prætorship was, therefore, given to Cassius; but he was not so much obliged by this as offended by the loss of the first. Brutus had, or at least might have had, equal influence with Cæsar in everything else; he might have stood the first in authority and interest, but he was drawn off by Cassius's party. Not that he was perfectly reconciled to Cassius since the competition for the prætorial appointments; but he listened to his friends, who were perpetually advising him not to be soothed or cajoled by Cæsar, but to reject the civilities of a tyrant, whose object was not to reward, but to disarm his virtue. On the other hand, Cæsar had his suspicions, and Brutus his accusers; yet the former thought he had less to fear from his spirit, his authority, and his connexions, than he had to hope from his honesty. When he was told that Antony and Dolabella had some dangerous conspiracy on foot, "It is not," said he, "the sleek and fat men that I fear, but the pale and the lean;" meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards, when he was advised to beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said, "Do not you think, then, that Brutus will wait till I have done with this poor body?" as if he thought Brutus the only proper person to succeed him in his immense power. Indeed it is extremely probable that Brutus would have been the first man

in Rome, could he have had patience awhile to be the second, and have waited till time had wasted the power of Cæsar, and dimmed the lustre of his great actions. But Cassius, a man of violent passions, and an enemy to Cæsar, rather from personal than political hatred, still urged him against the dictator. It was universally said, that Brutus hated the imperial power, and that Cassius hated the emperor. Cassius, indeed, pretended that Cæsar had injured him. He complained that the lions which he had procured when he was nominated ædile, and which he had sent to Megara, Cæsar had taken and converted to his own use, having found them there when that city was taken by Calanus. Those lions, it is said, were very fatal to the inhabitants; for as soon as their city was taken, they opened their dens, and unchained them in the streets, that they might stop the irruption of the enemy; but instead of that they fell upon the citizens, and tore them in such a manner, that their very enemies were struck with horror. Some say that this was the principal motive with Cassius for conspiring against Cæsar; but they are strangely mistaken. Cassius had a natural aversion to the whole race of tyrants, which he showed even when he was at school with Faustus the son of Sylla. When Faustus was boasting amongst the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Cassius rose and struck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Faustus would have taken upon themselves to punish the insult; but Pompey prevented it, and sending for the boys, examined them himself. Upon which Cassius said, "Come along, Faustus! repeat, if you dare, before Pompey, the expressions which provoked me, that I may punish you in the same manner." Such was the disposition of Cassius.

But Brutus was animated to this undertaking by the persuasion of his friends, by private intimations and anonymous letters. Under the statue of his ancestor, who destroyed the Tarquins, was placed a paper with these words:—*O, that we had a Brutus now! O, that Brutus were now alive!* His own tribunal on which he sat as prætor was continually filled with such inscriptions as these:—*Brutus, thou sleepest! Thou art not a true Brutus!* The sy

cophants of Cæsar were the occasion of this; for, amongst other invidious distinctions which they paid him, they crowned his statues by night, that the people might salute him king, instead of dictator. However, it had a contrary effect, as I have shown more at large in the life of Cæsar.

When Cassius solicited his friends to engage in the conspiracy, they all consented, on condition that Brutus would take the lead. They concluded that it was not strength of hands, or resolution, that they wanted, but the countenance of a man of reputation, to preside at this sacrifice, and to justify the deed. They were sensible that, without him, they should neither proceed with spirit, nor escape suspicion when they had effected their purpose. The world, they knew, would conclude, that if the action had been honourable, Brutus would not have refused to engage in it. Cassius having considered these things, determined to pay Brutus the first visit after the quarrel that had been between them; and as soon as the compliments of reconciliation were over, he asked him, "Whether he intended to be in the senate on the calends of March, for it was reported," he said, "that Cæsar's friends designed to move that he should be declared king?" Brutus answered, "He should not be there;" and Cassius replied, "But what if they should send for us?" "It would then," said Brutus, "be my duty, not only to speak against it, but to sacrifice my life for the liberties of Rome." Cassius, encouraged by this, proceeded:—"But what Roman will bear to see you die? Do not you know yourself, Brutus? Think you that those inscriptions you found on your tribunal were placed there by weavers and victuallers, and not by the first men in Rome? From other prætors they look for presents, and shows, and gladiators; but from you they expect the abolition of tyranny, as a debt which your family has entailed upon you. They are ready to suffer everything on your account, if you are really what you ought, and what they expect you to be." After this he embraced Brutus, and being perfectly reconciled, they retired to their respective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæsar had

pardoned, though he had borne arms against him. This man, less grateful for the pardon he had received than offended with the power which made him stand in need of it, hated Cæsar, but was the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter one day visited him, and finding him not well, said, "O, Ligarius! what a time is this to be sick?" Upon which he raised himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, answered, "If Brutus has any design worthy of himself, Ligarius is well." They now tried the inclinations of all they could trust, and took into the conspiracy, not only their familiar friends, but such as they knew to be brave, and above the fear of death. For this reason, though they had the greatest regard for Cicero, and the utmost confidence in his principles as a republican, they concealed the conspiracy from him, lest his natural timidity, and the weariness of age, should retard those measures which required the most resolute despatch.

Brutus likewise thought proper to leave his friends, Statilius and Favonius, the followers of Cato, out of the conspiracy. He had tried their sentiments, under the colour of a philosophical dispute, in which Favonius observed, that the worst absolute government was preferable to a civil war; and Statilius added, that it became no wise man to expose himself to fear and danger, on account of the faults and follies of others; but Labeo, who was present, contradicted both; and Brutus, though he was then silent, as if the dispute had been difficult to determine, afterwards communicated the design to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. It was then agreed to gain over the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who, though not distinguished by his personal courage, was of consequence, on account of the great number of gladiators he bred for the public shows, and the entire confidence that Cæsar placed in him. To the solicitations of Cassius and Labeo he made no answer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was at the head of the conspiracy, he made no scruple of joining them. The name of Brutus drew in many more of the most considerable persons of the state; and though they had entered into no oath of secrecy,

they kept the design so close, that, notwithstanding the gods themselves denounced the event by a variety of prodigies, no one would give credit to the conspiracy.

Brutus now felt his consequence lie heavy upon him. The safety of some of the greatest men in Rome depended on his conduct, and he could not think of the danger they were to encounter without anxiety. In public, indeed, he suppressed his uneasiness; but at home, and especially by night, he was not the same man. Sometimes he would start from his sleep; at others, he was totally immersed in thought. From which, and the like circumstances, it was obvious to his wife, that he was revolving in his mind some difficult and dangerous enterprise. Porcia, as we before observed, was the daughter of Cato. She was married to her cousin Brutus very young, though she was a widow, and had a son, named Bibulus, after his father. There is a small tract of his still extant, called *Memoirs of Brutus*. Porcia added to the affection of a wife the prudence of a woman who was not unacquainted with philosophy; and she resolved not to inquire into her husband's secrets before she had made the following trial of her own firmness:—She ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and, with a small knife, gave herself a deep wound in the thigh. This occasioned a great effusion of blood, extreme pain, and a fever in consequence of that pain. Brutus was extremely afflicted for her, and as he attended her, in the height of her pain, she thus spoke to him:—"Brutus, when you married the daughter of Cato, you did not, I presume, consider her merely as a female companion, but as the partner of your fortunes. You, indeed, have given me no reason to repent my marriage; but what proof, either of affection or fidelity, can you receive from me, if I may neither share in your secret griefs nor in your secret councils? I am sensible that secrecy is not the characteristic virtue of my sex; but surely our natural weakness may be strengthened by a virtuous education, and by honourable connexions; and Porcia can boast that she is the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Yet even in these distinctions I placed no absolute confidence, till I tried and

found that I was proof against pain." When she had said this, she showed him her wound, and informed him of her motives; upon which Brutus was so struck with her magnanimity, that, with lifted hands, he entreated the gods to favour his enterprise, and enable him to approve himself worthy of Porcia. He then took every means to cure her wound, and restore her health.

A meeting of the senate being appointed, at which Cæsar was expected to attend, *that* was thought a proper time for the execution of their design; for *then* they could not only appear together without suspicion, but as some of the most considerable persons in the commonwealth would be present, they flattered themselves that, as soon as the deed was done, they would join in asserting the common liberty. The place too where the senate was to meet seemed providentially favourable for their purpose. It was a portico adjoining to the theatre; and in the midst of a saloon, furnished with benches, stood a statue of Pompey, which had been erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with those buildings. Here the senate was convened on the ides of March; and it seemed as if some god should bring Cæsar to this place to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day came, Brutus went out, and took with him a dagger, which last circumstance was known only to his wife. The rest met at the house of Cassius, and conducted his son, who was that day to put on *the toga virilis*, to the *forum*; from whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Cæsar. Any one that had been privy to the design of the conspirators, would here have been astonished at their calm and consistent firmness. Many of them were prætors, and obliged by their office to hear and determine causes. These they heard with so much calmness, and decided with so much accuracy, that one could not have supposed there had been anything else upon their minds; and when a certain person appealed from the judgment of Brutus to Cæsar, Brutus, looking round on the assembly, said, *Cæsar neither does nor shall hinder me from acting agreeably to the laws*. Nevertheless, they were disturbed by many accidents. Though

the day was far spent, still Cæsar did not come, being detained by his wife and the soothsayers, on account of defects in the sacrifices. In the meantime a person came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed the thing from me," said he, "but Brutus has told me all." Casca expressed his surprise; upon which the other said, laughing, "How came you to be so rich of a sudden, as to stand for the *ædiles*hip;" so near was the great secret being blown by the ambiguity of this man's discourse! at the same time Popilius Læna, a senator, after saluting Brutus and Cassius in a very obliging manner, said, in a whisper, "My best wishes are with you:—but make no delay; for it is now no secret." After saying this, he immediately went away, and left them in great consternation; for they concluded that everything was discovered. Soon after this a messenger came running from Brutus's house, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia had been under extreme anxiety, and in great agitation about the event. At every little noise or voice she heard, she started up and ran to the door, like one of the frantic priestesses of Bacchus, inquiring of every one that came from the *forum*, what Brutus was doing. She sent messenger after messenger to make the same inquiries; and being unable any longer to support the agitation of her mind, she at length fainted away. She had not time to retire to her chamber. As she sat in the middle of the house, her spirits failed, her colour changed, and she lost her senses and her speech. Her women shrieked, the neighbours ran to their assistance, and a report was soon spread through the city, that Porcia was dead. However, by the care of those that were about her, she recovered in a little time. Brutus was greatly distressed with the news, and not without reason; but his private grief gave way to the public concern; for it was now reported that Cæsar was coming in a litter. The ill omen of his sacrifices had deterred him from entering on business of importance, and he proposed to defer it under a pretence of indisposition. As soon as he came out of the litter, Popilius Læna, who a little before had wished Brutus success, went

up, and spoke to him for a considerable time, Cæsar all the while standing, and seeming very attentive. The conspirators not being able to hear what he said, suspected, from what passed between him and Brutus, that he was now making a discovery of their design. This disconcerted them extremely, and looking upon each other, they agreed, by the silent language of the countenance, that they should not stay to be taken, but despatch themselves. With this intent Cassius and some others were just about to draw their daggers from under their robes, when Brutus, observing from the looks and gestures of Læna that he was petitioning, and not accusing, encouraged Cassius by the cheerfulness of his countenance. This was the only way by which he could communicate his sentiments, being surrounded by many who were strangers to the conspiracy. Læna, after a little while kissed Cæsar's hand, and left him; and it plainly appeared, upon the whole that he had been speaking about his own affairs.

The senate was already seated, and the conspirators got close about Cæsar's chair, under pretence of preferring a suit to him. Cassius turned his face to Pompey's statue, and invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius kept Antony in conversation without the court. And now Cæsar entered, and the whole senate rose to salute him. The conspirators crowded around him, and set Tullius Cimber, one of their number, to solicit the recall of his brother, who was banished. They all united in the solicitation, took hold of Cæsar's hand, and kissed his head and his breast. He rejected their applications, and finding that they would not desist, at length rose from his seat in anger. Tullius, upon this laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his shoulders. Casca, who stood behind, gave him the first, though but a slight wound with his dagger, near the shoulder. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger, and said in Latin, "Villain! Casca! What dost thou mean?" Casca, in Greek, called his brother to his assistance. Cæsar was wounded by numbers almost at the same instant, and looked round him for some way to escape; but when

he saw the dagger of Brutus pointed against him, he let go Casca's hand, and covering his head with his robe, resigned himself to their swords. The conspirators pressed so eagerly to stab him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting to have his share in the sacrifice, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.

Cæsar thus slain, Brutus stepped forward into the middle of the senate-house, and proposing to make a speech, desired the senators to stay. They fled, however, with the utmost precipitation, though no one pursued; for the conspirators had no design on any life but Cæsar's; and, that taken away, they invited the rest to liberty. Indeed, all but Brutus were of opinion that Antony should fall with Cæsar. They considered him as an insolent man, who, in his principles, favoured monarchy; and who had made himself popular in the army. Moreover, beside his natural disposition to despotism, he had at this time the consular power, and was the colleague of Cæsar. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injustice of such a measure, and suggested the possibility of Antony's change of principle. He thought it far from being improbable that, after the destruction of Cæsar, a man so passionately fond of glory, should be inspired by an emulation to join in restoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was saved; though, in the general consternation, he fled in the disguise of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themselves to the capitol; and showing their bloody hands and naked swords, proclaimed liberty to the people as they passed. At first all was lamentation, distraction, and tumult; but as no further violence was committed, the senators and the people recovered from their apprehensions, and went in a body to the conspirators in the capitol. Brutus made a popular speech adapted to the occasion; and this being well received, the conspirators were encouraged to come down into the *forum*. The rest were undistinguished; but persons of the first quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the capitol, and placed him in the *rostrum*. At the sight of Brutus, the populace, though disposed to tumult, were struck with reverence: and

when he began to speak, they attended with silence. It soon appeared, however, that it was not the action, but the man, they respected; for when Cinna spoke, and accused Cæsar, they loaded him with the most opprobrious language; and became so outrageous that the conspirators thought proper once more to retire into the capitol. Brutus now expected to be besieged, and therefore dismissed the principal people that attended him; because he thought it unreasonable that they who had no concern in the action should be exposed to the danger that followed it. Next day the senate assembled in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their respective speeches, persuaded and prevailed on the people to forget what was passed. Accordingly the conspirators were not only pardoned, but it was decreed that the consuls should take into consideration what honours and dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. After this the senate broke up; and Antony, having sent his son as a hostage to the capitol, Brutus and his party came down, and mutual compliments passed between them. Cassius was invited to sup with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus, and the rest were entertained by their respective friends.

Early next morning the senate assembled again, and voted thanks to Antony for preventing a civil war, as well as to Brutus and his party for their services to the commonwealth. The latter had also provinces distributed amongst them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and the other Brutus had that part of Gaul which lies upon the Po.

Cæsar's will, and his funeral came next in question. Antony proposed that the will should be read in public; and that the funeral should not be private, or without proper magnificence, lest such treatment should exasperate the people. Cassius strongly opposed this; but Brutus agreed to it, and here he fell into a second error. His preservation of so formidable an enemy as Antony was a mistaken thing; but his giving up the management of Cæsar's funeral to him was an irreparable fault. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inspire the people

with a passionate regret for the death of Cæsar; for he had left to each Roman citizen seventy-five drachmas, beside the public use of his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now the temple of fortune stands. When the body was brought into the *forum*, and Antony spoke the usual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his speech, he endeavoured still more to work upon their passions, by unfolding the bloody garment of Cæsar, showing them in how many places it was pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds. This threw everything into confusion; some called aloud to kill the murderers; others, as was formerly done in the case of that seditious demagogue Clodius, snatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring shops, and erected a pile for the body of Cæsar, in the midst of consecrated places and surrounding temples. As soon as the pile was in flames, the people, crowding from all parts, snatched the half-burned brands, and ran round the city to fire the houses of the conspirators; but they were on their guard against such an assault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet named Cinna, who had no concern in the conspiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæsar's. This man dreamed that Cæsar invited him to supper, and that, when he declined the invitation, he took him by the hand, and constrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the utmost horror. The agitation of his spirits threw him into a fever, which lasted the remaining part of the night. In the morning, however, when Cæsar was to be interred, he was ashamed of absenting himself from the solemnity; he therefore mingled with the multitude that had just been enraged by the speech of Antony; and being unfortunately mistaken for that Cinna, who had before inveighed against Cæsar, he was torn to pieces. This, more than anything, except Antony's change of conduct, alarmed Brutus and his party. They now thought it necessary to consult their safety, and retired to Antium. Here they sat down, with an intent to return as soon as the popular fury should subside; and for this, considering the inconstancy of the multitude, they con-

cluded that they should not have long to wait. The senate, moreover, was in their interest; and though they did not punish the murderers of Cinna, they caused strict inquiry to be made after those who attempted to burn the houses of the conspirators. Antony too became obnoxious to the people; for they suspected him of erecting another kind of monarchy. The return of Brutus was, consequently, wished for; and, as he was to exhibit shows and games in his capacity as prætor, it was expected. Brutus, however, had received intelligence, that several of Cæsar's old soldiers, to whom he had distributed lands and colonies, had stolen, by small parties, into Rome, and that they lay in wait for him; he therefore did not think proper to come himself; notwithstanding which, the shows that were exhibited on his account were extremely magnificent; for he had bought a considerable number of wild beasts, and ordered that they should all be reserved for that purpose. He went himself as far as Naples to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of one Canutius, who was much admired upon the stage, he desired his friends to use all their interest to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian; and Brutus, therefore, thought that no compulsion should be used. He wrote likewise to Cicero, and begged that he would, by all means be present at the public shows.

Such was the situation of his affairs, when, on the arrival of Octavius at Rome, things took another turn. He was son to the sister of Cæsar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Apollonia, and in expectation of meeting Cæsar there on his intended expedition against the Parthians, at the time when Cæsar was slain. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and to ingratiate himself with the people, assumed the name of Cæsar. By punctually distributing amongst the citizens the money that was left them by his uncle, he soon took the lead of Antony; and, by his liberality to the soldiers, he brought over to his party the greatest number of those who had served under Cæsar. Cicero, likewise, who hated Antony, joined his interest; and this was so much resented

by Brutus, that in his letters, he reproached him in the severest terms. "He perceived," he said, "that Cicero was tame enough to bear a tyrant, and was only afraid of the tyrant that hated him;—that his compliments to Octavius were meant to purchase an easy slavery; but our ancestors," said Brutus, "scorned to bear even a gentle master." He added, that "As to the measures of peace, or war, he was undetermined; but in one thing he was resolved, which was *never to be a slave!*" He expressed his surprise, "That Cicero should prefer an infamous accommodation even to the dangers of civil war; and that the only fruits he expected from destroying the tyranny of Antony should be the establishment of new tyrant in Octavius." Such was the spirit of his first letters.

The city was now divided into two factions; some joined Cæsar, others remained with Antony, and the army was sold to the best bidder. Brutus, of course, despaired of any desirable event; and, being resolved to leave Italy, he went by land to Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elea. Porcia, being to return from thence to Rome, endeavoured, as well as possible, to conceal the sorrow that oppressed her; but, notwithstanding her magnanimity, a picture which she found there betrayed her distress. The subject was the parting of Hector and Andromache. He was represented delivering his son Astyanax into her arms, and the eyes of Andromache were fixed upon him. The resemblance that this picture bore to her own distress, made her burst into tears the moment she beheld it; and several times she visited the melancholy emblem, to gaze upon it, and weep before it. On this occasion Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, repeated that passage in Homer, where Andromache says,

Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee.

POPE.

To which Brutus replied, with a smile,
"But I must not answer Porcia as
Hector did Andromache :

———— Hasten to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spindle and direct the loom.

POPE.

She has not personal strength, indeed,

to sustain the toils we undergo, but her spirit is not less active in the cause of her country." This anecdote we have from Bibulus, the son of Porcia.

From Elea, Brutus sailed for Athens, where he was received with high applause, and invested with public honours. There he took up his residence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theomnestus the academic, and Cratippus the peripatetic, devoting himself wholly to literary pursuits. Yet in this unsuspected state he was privately preparing for war. He despatched Herostratus into Macedonia to gain the principal officers in that province, and he secured by his kindness all the young Romans who were students then at Athens. Amongst these was the son of Cicero, on whom he bestowed the highest encomiums; and said, that he could never cease admiring the spirit of that young man, who bore such a mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length he began to act more publicly; and being informed that some of the Roman ships laden with money, were returning from Asia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he met him at Carystus, a city of Eubœa. There he had a conference with him, and requested that he would give up the ships. By the by, it happened to be Brutus's birthday, on which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment, and while they were drinking *Victory to Brutus and Liberty to Rome*, to encourage the cause, he called for a larger bowl. While he held it in his hand, without any visible relation to the subject they were upon, he pronounced this verse:—

My fall was doom'd by Phœbus and by Fate.

Some historians say, that Apollo was the word he gave his soldiers in the last battle at Philippi; and, of course conclude, that this exclamation was a presage of his defeat. Antistius, the commander of the ships, gave him five hundred thousand drachmas of the money he was carrying to Italy. The remains of Pompey's army that were scattered about Thessaly, readily joined his standard; and besides these, he took five hundred horse, whom Cinna was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. He then sailed to Demetrias, and seized a large quantity of arms, which Julius

Cæsar had provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be sent to Antony. Macedonia was delivered up to him by Hortensius the prætor, and all the neighbouring princes readily offered their assistance. When news was received that Caius, the brother of Antony, had marched through Italy, to join the forces under Gabinius in Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, Brutus determined to seize them before he arrived, and made a forced march with such troops as were at hand. The way was rugged and the snows were deep; but he moved with such expedition that his sutlers were left a long way behind. When he had almost reached Dyrrhachium, he was seized with the disorder called *Bulimia*, or violent hunger, occasioned by cold and fatigue. This disorder affects both men and cattle, after fatigues in the snow. Whether it is, that perspiration being prevented by the extreme cold, the vital heat is confined, and more immediately consumes the aliment; or that a keen and subtle vapour rising from the melted snow, penetrates the body, and destroys the heat by expelling it through the pores; for the sweatings seem to arise from the heat contending with the cold, which being repelled by the latter, the vapoury steam is diffused over the surface of the body; but of this I have treated more largely in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and no provisions being at hand, his servants were forced to go to the gates of the enemy, and beg bread of the sentinels. When they were informed of the distress of Brutus, they brought him meat and drink in their own hands; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, he showed kindness both to them and to the rest of the inhabitants.

When Caius arrived in Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers that were quartered near the city to join him; but finding that they were all with Brutus, and suspecting that those in Apollonia favoured the same party, he went to Buthrotus. Brutus, however, found means to destroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius, after this, attempted to seize some posts near Byllis, but was routed in a set battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus had given the command of the army on that occasion,

and whose conduct he made use of frequently, and with success. Caius was soon afterwards surprised in a marsh, from whence he had no means to escape; and Brutus, finding him in his power, surrounded him with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his men should be killed; for he expected that they would quickly join him of their own accord. As he expected, it came to pass. They surrendered both themselves and their general, so that Brutus had now a very respectable army. He treated Caius for a long time with all possible respect; nor did he divest him of any ensigns of dignity that he bore, though it is said, that he received letters from several persons at Rome, and particularly from Cicero, advising him to put him to death. At length, however, when he found that he was secretly practising with his officers, and exciting seditions amongst the soldiers, he put him on board a ship, and kept him close prisoner. The soldiers that he had corrupted retired into Apollonia, from whence they sent word to Brutus, that if he would come to them there, they would return to their duty. Brutus answered, "That this was not the custom of the Romans, but that those who had offended should come in person to their general, and solicit his forgiveness." This they did and were accordingly pardoned.

He was now preparing to go into Asia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome. Young Cæsar, supported by the senate, had got the better of Antony, and driven him out of Italy; but, at the same time, he began to be no less formidable himself; for he solicited the consulship contrary to law, and kept in pay an unnecessary army. Consequently the senate, though they at first supported, were now dissatisfied with his measures, and as they began to cast their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed several provinces to him, Cæsar was under some apprehensions. He therefore despatched messengers to Antony, and desired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army around the city, and carried the consulship, though but a boy, in his twentieth year, as he tells us in his commentaries. He was no sooner consul than he ordered a judicial process to issue against

Brutus and his accomplices, for murdering the first magistrate in Rome without trial or condemnation. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa accused Cassius; neither of whom appearing, the judges were obliged to pass sentence against both. It is said, that when the crier, as usual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could not suppress their sighs; and persons of the first distinction heard it in silent dejection. Publius Silicius was observed to burst into tears; and this was the cause why he was afterwards proscribed. The triumviri, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, being now reconciled, divided the provinces amongst them, and settled that list of murder, in which two hundred citizens, and Cicero amongst the rest, were proscribed.

When the report of these proceedings was brought into Macedonia, Brutus found himself under a necessity of sending orders to Hortensius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the death of Cicero his friend, and Brutus Albinus, his kinsman, who was slain. This was the reason why Antony, when he had taken Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus said, that he was more ashamed of the cause of Cicero's death than grieved at the event; while he saw Rome enslaved more by her own fault, than by the fault of her tyrants, and continue a tame spectator of such scenes as ought not to have been heard of without horror.

The army of Brutus was now considerable, and he ordered its route into Asia, while a fleet was preparing in Bithynia and at Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he settled the affairs of the cities, and gave audience to the princes of those countries through which he passed. He sent orders to Cassius, who was in Syria, to give up his intended journey into Egypt, and join him. On this occasion he tells him, that their collecting forces to destroy the tyrants was not to secure an empire to themselves, but to deliver their fellow-citizens; that they should never forget this great object of their undertaking, but, adhering to their first intentions, keep Italy within their eye, and hasten to rescue their country from oppression.

Cassius accordingly set out to join him, and Brutus at the same time making some progress to meet him, their interview was at Smyrna. Till this meeting they had not seen each other since they parted at the Piræus of Athens, when Cassius set out for Syria, and Brutus for Macedonia. The forces they had respectively collected gave them great joy, and made them confident of success. From Italy they had fled, like solitary exiles, without money, without arms, without a ship, a soldier, or a town to fly to. Yet now, in so short a time, they found themselves supplied with shipping and money, with an army of horse and foot, and in a condition of contending for the empire of Rome. Cassius was no less respectful to Brutus than Brutus was to him; but the latter would generally wait upon him, as he was the older man, and of a feeble constitution. Cassius was esteemed an able soldier, but of a fiery disposition, and ambitious to command rather by fear than affection; though, at the same time, with his familiar acquaintance, he was easy in his manners, and fond of raillery to excess. Brutus, on account of his virtue, was respected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatness of mind that was superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every pursuit where justice or honour were concerned. The people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity in every undertaking, and this naturally inspired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey the Great had hardly ever so much credit with them; for who ever imagined, that, if he had conquered Cæsar, he would have submitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of consul or dictator, or some more specious and popular name? Cassius, on the contrary, a man of violent passions and rapacious avarice, was suspected of exposing himself to toil and danger, rather from a thirst of power than attachment to the liberties of his country. The former disturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently set their country

as a stake for the winner, and hardly scrupled to own that they fought for empire; but the very enemies of Brutus never charged him with this. Even Antony has been heard to say, that Brutus was the only conspirator who had the sense of honour and justice for his motive, and that the rest were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It is clear, too, from what Brutus himself says, that he finally and principally relied on his own virtue. Thus he writes to Atticus immediately before an engagement, "That his affairs were in the most desirable situation imaginable; for that either he should conquer, and restore liberty to Rome, or die, and be free from slavery; that everything else was reduced to certainty; and that this only remained a question, Whether they should live or die free men? He adds, that Mark Antony was properly punished for his folly; who, when he might have ranked with the Bruti, the Cassii, and Catos, chose rather to be the underling of Octavius; and that if he did not fall in the approaching battle they would very soon be at variance with each other." In which he seems to have been a true prophet.

Whilst they were at Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius to let him have part of the vast treasure he had collected, because his own was chiefly expended in equipping fleet, to gain the superiority at sea. But the friends of Cassius advised him against this; alleging, that it would be absurd to give Brutus that money which he had saved with so much frugality, and acquired with so much envy, merely that Brutus might increase his popularity, by distributing it amongst the soldiers. Cassius, however gave him a third of what he had, and then they parted for their respective commands. Cassius behaved with great severity on the taking of Rhodes; though, when he first entered the city, and was saluted with the title of king and master, he answered, "That he was neither their king nor their master, but the destroyer of him who would have been both." Brutus demanded supplies of men and money from the Lycians; but Naucrates, an orator, persuaded the cities to rebel, and some of the inhabitants posted themselves on the hills with an intent to oppose the passage of Brutus. Brutus at first

despatched a party of horse, which surprised them at dinner, and killed six hundred of them. But afterwards, when he had taken the adjacent towns and villages, he gave up the prisoners without ransom, and hoped to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former sufferings, however, made them reject his humanity, and those that still resisted being driven into the city of Xanthus, were there besieged. As a river ran close by the town several attempted to escape by swimming and diving; but they were prevent by nets let down for that purpose, which had little bells at top to give notice when any one was taken. The Xanthians afterwards made a sally in the night, and set fire to several of the battering engines; but they were perceived and driven back by the Romans; at the same time the violence of the winds drove the flames on the city, so that several houses near the battlements took fire. Brutus, being apprehensive that the whole city would be destroyed, sent his own soldiers to assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire. But the Lycians were seized with an incredible despair, a kind of frenzy, which can no otherwise be described than by calling it a passionate desire of death. Women and children, free men and slaves, people of all ages and conditions, strove to repulse the soldiers as they came to their assistance, from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds, and all manner of combustibles, to spread the fire over the city, and encouraged its progress by every means in their power. Thus assisted, the flames flew over the whole with dreadful rapidity; whilst Brutus, extremely shocked at this calamity, rode round the walls, and stretching forth his hands to the inhabitants, entreated them to spare themselves and their city. Regardless of his entreaties, they sought by every means to put an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries, leaped into the flames; some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and others fell upon the swords of their parents, opening their breasts, and begging to be slain.

When the city was in a great measure reduced to ashes, a woman was found who had hanged herself, with h

young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had fired her house. This deplorable object so much affected Brutus, that he wept when he was told of it, and proclaimed a reward to any soldier who could save a Xanthian. It is said that no more than a hundred and fifty were preserved, and those against their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had appointed certain periods for their destruction, after a long course of years, sunk into that deplorable ruin, in which the same rash despair had involved their ancestors in the Persian war: for they too burned their city, and destroyed themselves.

After this, when the Patareans likewise made resistance, Brutus was under great anxiety whether he should besiege them; for he was afraid they would follow the desperate measures of the Xanthians. However, having some of their women whom he had taken prisoners, he dismissed them without ransom; and those returning to their husbands and parents, who happened to be people of the first distinction, so much extolled the justice and moderation of Brutus, that they prevailed on them to submit, and put their city in his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Cassius compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and silver in his possession, by which he amassed eight thousand talents; and yet he laid the public under a fine of five hundred talents more; but Brutus took only a hundred and fifty talents of the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, led his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the course of this expedition, did many acts of justice, and was vigilant in the dispensation of rewards and punishments. An instance of this I shall relate, because both he himself, and every honest Roman, were particularly pleased with it. When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharsalia, fled into Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the tutors and ministers of young Ptolemy consulted what measures they should take on the occasion. But they were of different opinions. Some were for receiving him, others for excluding him out of Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a teacher

of rhetoric by profession, who then attended the king in that capacity, was, for want of abler ministers, admitted to the council. This man insisted, that both were in the wrong; those who were for receiving, and those who were for expelling Pompey. The best measure they could take, he said, would be to put him to death, and concluded his speech with the proverb, that *dead men do not bite*. The council entered into his opinion; and Pompey the Great, an example of the incredible mutability of fortune, fell a sacrifice to the arguments of a sophist, as that sophist lived afterwards to boast. Not long after, upon Caesar's arrival in Egypt, some of the murderers received their proper reward, and were put to death; but Theodotus made his escape. —Yet, though for awhile he gained from fortune the poor privilege of a wandering and despicable life, he fell at last into the hands of Brutus, as he was passing through Asia; and, by paying the forfeit of his baseness, became more memorable from his death than from anything in his life.

About this time Brutus sent for Cassius to Sardis, and went with his friends to meet him. The whole army being drawn up, saluted both the leaders with the title of *Imperator*. But, as it usually happens in great affairs, where many friends and many officers are engaged, mutual complaints and suspicions arose between Brutus and Cassius. To settle these more properly, they retired into an apartment by themselves. Expostulations, debates, and accusations followed. And these were so violent, that they burst into tears. Their friends without were surprised at the loudness and asperity of the conference; but though they were apprehensive of the consequence, they durst not interfere, because they had been expressly forbidden to enter. Favonius, however, an imitator of Cato, but rather an enthusiast than rational in his philosophy, attempted to enter. The servants in waiting endeavoured to prevent him, but it was not easy to stop the impetuous Favonius. He was violent in his whole conduct, and valued himself less on his dignity as a senator, than on a kind of cynical freedom in saying everything he pleased; nor was this unentertaining

to those who could bear with his impertinence. However, he broke through the door, and entered the apartment, pronouncing, in a theatrical tone, what Nestor says in Homer,

Young men, be ruled—I'm older than you both.

Cassius laughed: but Brutus thrust him out, telling him that he pretended to be a *cynic*, but was in reality a *dog*. This, however, put an end to the dispute; and for that time they parted. Cassius gave an entertainment in the evening, to which Brutus invited his friends. When they were seated, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus called aloud to him, telling him that he was not invited, and bade him go to the lower end of the table. Favonius, notwithstanding, thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle. On that occasion there was much learning and good humour in the conversation.

The day following, one Lucius Pella, who had been prætor, and employed in offices of trust, being impeached by the Sardiens of embezzling the public money, was disgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was very mortifying to Cassius; for, a little before, two of his own friends had been accused of the same crime; but he had absolved them in public, and contenting himself with giving them a private reproof, continued them in office. Of course, he charged Brutus with too rigid an exertion of the laws, at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus, on the other hand, reminded him of the ides of March, the time when they had killed Cæsar; who was not, personally speaking, the scourge of mankind, but only abetted and supported those that were with his power. He bade him consider, that if the neglect of justice were in any case to be connived at, it should have been done before; and that they had better have borne with the oppressions of Cæsar's friends, than suffered the malpractices of their own to pass with impunity; "For then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only for cowardice, but now, after all we have undergone, we shall lie under the imputation of injustice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

When they were about to leave Asia, Brutus, it is said had an extraor-

dinary apparition. Naturally watchful, sparing in his diet, and assiduous in business, he allowed himself but little time for sleep. In the day he never slept, nor in the night, till all business was over, and, the rest being retired, he had nobody to converse with. But at this time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and solicitous for the event, he only slumbered a little after supper, and spent the rest of the night in ordering his most urgent affairs. When these were despatched, he employed himself in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. Thus, a little before he left Asia, he was sitting alone in his tent, by a dim light, and at a late hour. The whole army lay in sleep and silence, while the general, wrapped in meditation, thought he perceived something enter his tent: turning towards the door, he saw a horrible and monstrous spectre standing silently by his side. "What art thou?" said he boldly, "Art thou god or man?" And what is thy business with me?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus! Thou wilt see me at Philippi." To which he calmly replied, "I'll meet thee there." When the apparition was gone, he called his servants, who told him they had neither heard any noise, nor had seen any vision. That night he did not go to rest, but went early in the morning to Cassius, and told him what had happened. Cassius, who was of the school of Epicurus, and used frequently to dispute with Brutus on these subjects, answered him thus: "It is the opinion of our sect, that not every thing we see is real; for matter is evasive, and sense deceitful. Besides, the impressions it receives are, by the quick and subtle influence of imagination, thrown into a variety of forms, many of which have no archetypes in nature: and this the imagination effects as easily as we may make an impression on wax. The mind of man, having in itself the plastic powers, and the component parts, can fashion and vary its objects at pleasure. This is clear from the sudden transition of dreams, in which the imagination can educe from the slightest principles such an amazing variety of forms, and call into exercise all the passions of the soul. The mind is perpetually in motion, and that motion

is imagination, or thought. But when the body, as in your case, is fatigued with labour, it naturally suspends, or perverts the regular functions of the mind. Upon the whole, it is highly improbable that there should be any such beings as demons, or spirits; or that if there were such, they should assume a human shape or voice, or have any power to affect us. At the same time I own I could wish there were such beings, that we might not rely on fleets and armies, but find the concurrence of the gods in this our sacred and glorious enterprise." Such were the arguments he made use of to satisfy Brutus.

When the army began to march, two eagles perched on the two first standards, and accompanied them as far as Philippi, being constantly fed by the soldiers; but the day before the battle they flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the nations in these parts; nevertheless he traversed the seacoast over against Thasus, that, if any hostile power remained, he might bring it into subjection. Norbanus, who was encamped in the straits near Sybolum, they surrounded in such a manner, that they obliged him to quit the place. Indeed, he narrowly escaped losing his whole army, which had certainly been the case, had not Antony come to his relief with such amazing expedition that Brutus could not believe it to be possible. Cæsar, who had been kept behind by sickness, joined his army about ten days after. Brutus was encamped over against him; Cassius was opposite to Antony. The space between the two armies the Romans call the plains of Philippi. Two armies of Romans, equal in numbers to these, had never before met to engage each other. Cæsar's was something superior in numbers; but in the splendour of arms and equipage was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for most of their arms were of gold and silver, which their general had liberally bestowed upon them. Brutus, in other things, had accustomed his officers to frugality; but the riches which his soldiers carried about with them, would at once, he thought, add to the spirit of the ambitious, and make the covetous valiant in defence of those arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cæsar made a lustration of his army within the camp, and gave each

man a little corn, and five drachmas only for a sacrifice. But Brutus, to show his contempt of the poverty or the avarice of Cæsar, made a public lustration of his army in the field, and not only distributed cattle to each cohort for the sacrifice, but gave fifty drachmas on the occasion to each private man. Of course he was more beloved by his soldiers, and they were more ready to fight for him. It is reported, that, during the lustration, an unlucky omen happened to Cassius. The garland he was to wear at the sacrifice was presented to him, the wrong side outwards. It is said too, that at a solemn procession, some time before, the person who bore the golden image of Victory before Cassius happened to stumble, and the image fell to the ground. Several birds of prey hovered daily about the camp, and swarms of bees were seen within the trenches. Upon which the soothsayers ordered the part where they appeared to be shun: for Cassius, with all his Epicurean philosophy, began to be superstitious, and the soldiers were extremely disheartened by these omens.

For this reason Cassius was inclined to protract the war, and unwilling to hazard the whole of the event on a present engagement. What made for this measure too was, they were stronger in money and provisions, but inferior in numbers. Brutus, on the other hand, was, as usual, for an immediate decision; that he might either give liberty to his country, or rescue his fellow citizens from the toils and expenses of war. He was encouraged likewise by the success his cavalry met with in several skirmishes; and some instances of desertion and mutiny in the camp, brought over many of the friends of Cassius to his opinion. But there was one Attellus, who still opposed an immediate decision, and advised to put it off till next winter. When Brutus asked him what advantages he expected from that, he answered, "If I gain nothing else, I shall at least live so much the longer." Both Cassius and the rest of the officers were displeased with this answer; and it was determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expressed great confidence and cheerfulness; and having passed the time of supper in philo-

sophical conversation, he went to rest. Messala says, that Cassius supped in private with some of his most intimate friends; and that, contrary to his usual manner, he was pensive and silent. He adds, that, after supper, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, as he commonly did, in token of his friendship, he said in Greek,—“Bear witness, Messala, that I am reduced to the same necessity with Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my country on one battle. Yet I have confidence in our good fortune, on which we ought still to rely, though the measures we have resolved upon are indiscreet.” These, Messala tells us, were the last words that Cassius spoke, before he bade him *farewell*; and that the next day, being his birthday, he invited Cassius to sup with him.

Next morning, as soon as it was light, the scarlet robe, which was the signal for battle, was hung out in the tents of Brutus and Cassius; and they themselves met on the plain between the two armies. On this occasion, Cassius thus addressed himself to Brutus:—“May the gods, Brutus, make this day successful, that we may pass the rest of our days together in prosperity. But as the most important of human events are the most uncertain; and as we may never see each other any more, if we are unfortunate on this occasion, tell me what is your resolution concerning flight and death?”

Brutus answered: “In the younger and less experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato, in killing himself. I thought it at once impious and unmanly to sink beneath the stroke of fortune, and to refuse the lot that had befallen us. In my present situation, however, I am of a different opinion; so that if heaven should now be unfavourable to our wishes, I will no longer solicit my hopes or my fortune, but die contented with it, such as it is. On the ides of March I devoted my life to my country; and since that time I have lived in liberty and glory.” At these words Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, said, “Let us march then against the enemy; for with these resolutions, though we should not conquer, we have nothing to fear.” They

then consulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus desired that he might command the right wing, though the post was thought more proper for Cassius on account of his experience. Cassius, however, gave it up to him, and placed Messala, with the best of his legions in the same wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which were equipped with great magnificence; and the foot followed close upon them.

Antony’s soldiers were at this time employed in making a trench from the marsh where they were encamped, to cut off Cassius’s communication with the sea. Cæsar lay still in his tent confined by sickness. His soldiers were far from expecting that the enemy would come to a pitched battle. They supposed that they were only making excursions to harass the trench-diggers with their light arms; and not perceiving that they were pouring in close upon them, they were astonished at the outcry they heard from the trenches. Brutus, in the meantime, sent tickets to the several officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. There were few who had patience to wait for the word; the greatest part before it could reach them, fell with loud shouts upon the enemy; this precipitate onset threw the army into confusion, and separated the legions. Messala’s legion first got beyond the left wing of Cæsar, and was followed by those who were stationed near him. In their way they did nothing more than throw some of the outmost ranks into disorder, and killed few of the enemy; their great object was to fall upon Cæsar’s camp, and they made directly up to it. Cæsar himself, as he tells us in his Commentaries, had but just before been conveyed out of his tent; in consequence of a vision of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he should be carried out of the camp. This made it believed that he was slain; for the soldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Those who were taken in the camp were put to the sword, amongst whom were two thousand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries. Those who attacked Cæsar’s legions in front easily put them to the rout, and cut three legions in pieces. After this

borne along with the impetuosity of victory, they rushed into the camp at the same time with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midst of them. The flank of Brutus's army was now left unguarded, by the separation of the right wing, which was gone off too far in the pursuit; and the enemy perceiving this, endeavoured to take advantage of it. They accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impression on the main body, which received them with firmness and unshaken resolution. The left wing, however, which was under the command of Cassius, was soon put to the rout; for the men were in great disorder, and knew nothing of what had passed in the right wing. The enemy pursued him into the camp, which they plundered and destroyed, though neither of their generals were present. Antony, it is said, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into the adjoining marsh, and Cæsar, who had been carried sick out of the camp, was no where to be found. Nay, some of the soldiers would have persuaded Brutus that they had killed Cæsar, describing his age and person, and showing him their bloody swords.

The main body of Brutus's army had now made prodigious havock of the enemy; and Brutus, in his department, was no less absolutely conqueror, than Cassius was conquered. The want of knowing this was the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected to relieve Cassius, because he knew not that he wanted relief.

When Brutus had destroyed the camp of Cæsar, and was returning from the pursuit, he was surprised that he could neither perceive the tent of Cassius above the rest, as usual, nor any of those that were about it; for they had been demolished by the enemy on their first entering the camp. Some, who were of quicker sight than the rest, told him that they could perceive a motion of shining helmets and silver targets in the camp of Cassius, and supposed from their numbers and their armour, that they could not be those who were left to guard the camp; though at the same time, there was not so great an appearance of dead bodies as there must have been after the defeat of so many legions. This gave

Brutus the first suspicion of Cassius's misfortune; and leaving a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called off the rest from the pursuit, and led them in order to the relief of Cassius.

The case of that general was this:—He was chagrined at first, by the irregular conduct of Brutus's soldiers, who began the attack without waiting for the command; and afterwards, by their attention to plunder, whereby they neglected to surround and cut off the enemy. Thus dissatisfied, he trifled with his command, and, for want of vigilance, suffered himself to be surrounded by the enemy's right wing; upon which his cavalry quitted their post, and fled towards the sea. The foot, likewise, began to give way, and though he laboured as much as possible to stop their flight, and snatching an ensign from the hand of one of the fugitives, fixed it at his feet, yet he was hardly able to keep his own prætorian band together; so that at length he was obliged to retire, with a very small number, to a hill that overlooked the plain. Yet here he could discover nothing; for he was shortsighted, and it was with some difficulty that he could perceive his own camp plundered. His companions, however, saw a large detachment of horse, which Brutus had sent to their relief, making up to them. These Cassius concluded to be the enemy that were in pursuit of him: notwithstanding which, he despatched Titinius to reconnoitre them. When the cavalry of Brutus saw this faithful friend of Cassius approach, they shouted for joy. His acquaintance leaped from their horses to embrace him, and the rest rode round him with clashing of arms, and all the clamorous expressions of gladness. This circumstance had a fatal effect. Cassius took it for granted that Titinius was seized by the enemy, and regretted, that, through a weak desire of life, he had suffered his friend to fall into their hands. When he had expressed himself to this effect, he retired into an empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom, ever since the defeat of Crassus, he had retained for a particular purpose. In that defeat he escaped out of the hands of the Parthians but now, wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck,

and commanded Pindarus to cut off his head; this was done; for his head was found severed from his body, but whether Pindarus did it by his master's command, has been suspected; because he never afterwards appeared. It was soon discovered who the cavalry were, and Titinius, crowned with garlands, came to the place where he left Cassius. When the lamentations of his friends informed him of the unhappy fate of his general, he severely reproached himself for the tardiness which had occasioned it, and fell upon his sword.

Brutus, when he was assured of the defeat of Cassius, made all possible haste to his relief; but he knew nothing of his death till he came up to his camp. There he lamented over his body, and called him *the last of Romans*; intimating, that Rome would never produce another man of equal spirit. He ordered his funeral to be celebrated at Thasus, that it might not occasion any disorder in the camp. His dispersed and dejected soldiers he collected and encouraged; and as they had been stripped of every thing by the enemy, he promised them two thousand drachmas a man. This munificence at once encouraged and surprised them; they attended him at his departure with great acclamations, and complimented him as the only general of the four who had not been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event justified that confidence; for with a few legions, he overcame all that opposed him, and if most of his soldiers had not passed the enemy in pursuit of plunder, the battle must have been decisive in his favour. He lost eight thousand men, including the servants, whom he calls *Briges*. Messala says, he supposes the enemy lost more than twice that number; and, of course, they were more discouraged than Brutus, till Demetrius, a servant of Cassius, went over to Antony in the evening, and carried him his master's robe and sword, which he had taken from the dead body. This so effectually encouraged the enemy, that they were drawn up in form of battle by break of day. Both camps, in the occupation of Brutus, involved him in difficulties. His own, full of prisoners, required a strong guard; at the same

time many of the soldiers of Cassius murmured at their change of masters, and the vanquished were naturally envious and jealous of the victors. He, therefore, thought proper to draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the slaves he had taken prisoners being found practising with his soldiers, were put to the sword; but most of the freemen and citizens were dismissed; and he told them at the same time that they were more truly prisoners in the hands of the enemy than in his; with them, he said, they were slaves indeed; but with him freemen and citizens of Rome. He was obliged, however, to dismiss them privately; for they had implacable enemies amongst his own friends and officers. Amongst the prisoners were Volumnius, a mimic, and Saculio, a buffoon, of whom Brutus took no notice, till they were brought before him, and accused of continuing, even in their captivity, their scurrilous jests and abusive language. Yet still taken up with more important concerns, he paid no regard to the accusation; but Messala Corvinus was of opinion, that they should be publicly whipped, and sent naked to the enemy, as proper associates and convivial companions for such generals. Some were entertained with the idea, and laughed; but Publius Casca, the first that wounded Cæsar, observed, that it was indecent to celebrate the obsequies of Cassius with jesting and laughter. "As for you, Brutus," said he, "it will be seen what esteem you have for the memory of that general, when you have either punished or pardoned those who ridicule and revile him." Brutus resented this expostulation, and said, "Why is this business thrown upon me, Casca? Why do not you do what you think proper?" This answer was considered as an assent to their death; so the poor wretches were carried off and slain.

He now gave the promised rewards to his soldiers; and after gently rebuking them for beginning the assault without waiting for the word of battle, he promised, that if they acquitted themselves to his satisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder. This is the only circumstance in his life for which no apology

can be made; for though Antony and Cæsar afterwards acted with more unbounded cruelty in rewarding their soldiers; though they deprived most of the ancient inhabitants of Italy of their lands, and gave them to those who had no title to them; yet they acted consistently with their first principle, which was the acquisition of empire and arbitrary power. But Brutus maintained such a reputation for virtue that he was neither allowed to conquer nor even to save himself, except on the strictest principles of honour and justice; more particularly since the death of Cassius, to whom, if any act of violence were committed, it was generally imputed. However, as sailors, when their rudder is broken in a storm, substitute some other piece of wood in its place; and though they cannot steer so well as before, do the best they can in their necessity; so Brutus, at the head of so vast an army, and such important affairs, unassisted by any officer that was equal to the charge, was obliged to make use of such advisers as he had, and he generally followed the counsel of those who proposed anything that might bring Cassius's soldiers to order, for these were extremely untractable; insolent in the camp for want of their general, though cowardly in the field, from the remembrance of their defeat.

The affairs of Cæsar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Provisions were scarce, and the marshy situation of their camp made them dread the winter. They already began to fear the inconveniences of it; for the autumnal rains had fallen heavy after the battle, and their tents were filled with mire and water; which, from the coldness of the weather, immediately froze. In this situation they received intelligence of their loss at sea. Their fleet, which was coming from Italy with a large supply of soldiers, was met by that of Brutus, and so totally defeated that the few who escaped were reduced by famine to eat the sails and tackle of the ships. It was now determined, on Cæsar's side, that they should come to battle before Brutus was made acquainted with his success. It appears that the fight, both by sea and land, was on the same day; but, by some accident, rather than the fault of their officers, Brutus knew nothing

of his victory till twenty days after. Had he been informed of it, he would never, certainly, have hazarded a second battle; for he had provisions sufficient for a considerable length of time, and his army was so advantageously posted, that it was safe both from the injuries of the weather and the incursions of the enemy. Besides, knowing that he was wholly master at sea, and partly victorious by land, he would have had everything imaginable to encourage him, and could not have been urged to any dangerous measures by despair.

But it seems that the republican form of government was no longer to subsist in Rome; that necessarily required a monarchy; and that Providence, to remove the only man who could oppose its destined master, kept the knowledge of that victory from him till it was too late. And yet, how near was he to receiving the intelligence! The very evening before the engagement, a deserter, named Clodius, came over from the enemy to tell him, that Cæsar was informed of the loss of his fleet, and that this was the reason of his hastening the battle. The deserter, however, was considered either as designing or ill informed; his intelligence was disregarded, and he was not even admitted into the presence of Brutus.

That night, they say, the spectre appeared again to Brutus, and assumed its former figure, but vanished without speaking. Yet Publius Volumnius, a philosophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus during the whole war, makes no mention of this prodigy; though he says, that the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees, and that the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, which would not cease, though they often wiped it off. He says too, that immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the space between the two armies: and that there was an incredible silence and attention in the field, till that on the side of Brutus was beaten and flew away. The story of the Ethiopian is well known, who, meeting the standard bearer opening the gate of the camp, was cut in pieces by the soldiers; for *that* they interpreted as an ill omen.

When Brutus had drawn up his army

in form of battle, he paused some time before he gave the word. While he was visiting the ranks, he had suspicions of some, and heard accusations of others. The cavalry he found had no ardour for the attack, but seemed waiting to see what the foot would do. Besides, Camulatus, a soldier in the highest estimation for valour, rode close by Brutus, and went over to the enemy in his sight. This hurt him inexpressibly; and partly out of anger, partly from fear of further desertion and treachery, he led his forces against the enemy about three in the afternoon. Where he fought in person he was still successful. He charged the enemy's left wing, and, the cavalry following the impression which the foot had made, it was put to the rout. But when the other wing of Brutus was ordered to advance, the inferiority of their numbers made them apprehensive that they should be surrounded by the enemy. For this reason they extended their ranks in order to cover more ground; by which means the centre of the left wing was so much weakened, that it could not sustain the shock of the enemy, but fled at the first onset. After their dispersion, the enemy surrounded Brutus, who did everything that the bravest and most expert general could do in his situation, and whose conduct at least entitled him to victory. But what seemed an advantage in the first engagement proved a disadvantage in the second. In the former battle, that wing of the enemy which was conquered was totally cut off; but most of the men in the conquered wing of Cassius were saved. This, at the time, might appear as an advantage, but it proved a prejudice. The remembrance of their former defeat filled them with terror and confusion, which they spread through the greatest part of the army.

Marcus, the son of Cato, was slain fighting amidst the bravest of the young nobility. He scorned alike either to fly or to yield; but, avowing who he was, and assuming his father's name, still used his sword, till he fell upon the heaps of the slaughtered enemy. Many other brave men, who exposed themselves for the preservation of Brutus, fell at the same time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth, and his intimate friend, observed some bar

barian horse riding full speed against Brutus in particular, and was determined to stop them, though at the hazard of his own life. He, therefore, told them that he was Brutus; and they believed him, because he pretended to be afraid of Cæsar, and desired to be conveyed to Antony. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themselves peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night, having previously sent an account to Antony of their success, who was infinitely pleased with it, and came out to them. Many others, likewise, when they heard that Brutus was brought alive, assembled to see him; and some pitied his misfortunes, while others accused him of an inglorious meanness, in suffering the love of life to betray him into the hands of barbarians. When he approached, and Antony was deliberating in what manner he should receive Brutus, Lucilius first addressed him, and, with great intrepidity, said, "Antony, be assured that Brutus neither is nor will be taken by an enemy. Forbid it, heaven, that fortune should have such a triumph over virtue! Whether he should be found alive or dead, he will be found in a state becoming Brutus. I imposed upon your soldiers, and am prepared to suffer the worst you can inflict upon me." Thus spoke Lucilius, to the no small astonishment of those that were present. When Antony, addressing himself to those that brought him, said, "I perceive, fellow soldiers, that you are angry at this imposition of Lucilius. But you have really got a better booty than you intended. You sought an enemy; but you have brought me a friend. I know not how I should have treated Brutus, had you brought him alive; but I am sure that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius for a friend than for an enemy." When he said this, he embraced Lucilius, recommending him to the care of one of his friends; and he ever after found him faithful to his interest.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having passed a brook that was overhung with cliffs, and shaded with trees, and being overtaken by night, stopped in a cavity under a large rock. There, casting his eyes on the heavens, which were covered with stars, he repeated two verses,

one of which, Volumnius tells us, was this:—

Forgive not, Jove, the cause of this distress.*

The other, he says, had escaped his memory. Upon enumerating the several friends that had fallen before his eyes in the battle, he sighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo; the latter of whom was his lieutenant, and the former master of the band of artificers. In the meanwhile one of his attendants being thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and went to the brook for water. At the same time a noise was heard on the opposite bank, and Volumnius and Dardanus the armour-bearer went to see what it was. In a short time they returned, and asked for the water:—"It is all drank up," said Brutus, with a smile; "but another helmet full shall be fetched." The man who had brought the first water was therefore sent again; but he was wounded by the enemy, and made his escape with difficulty.

As Brutus supposed that he had not lost many men in the battle, Statilius undertook to make his way through the enemy (for there was no other way) and see in what condition their camp was. If things were safe there, he was to hold up a torch for a signal, and return. He got safe to the camp, for the torch was held up; but a long time elapsed, and he did not return. "If Statilius were alive," said Brutus, "he would be here." In his return, he fell into the enemy's hands and was slain.

The night was now far spent; when Brutus, leaning his head towards his servant Clitus, whispered something in his ear. Clitus made no answer, but burst into tears. After that he took his armour-bearer Dardanus aside, and said something to him in private. At last, addressing himself to Volumnius in Greek, he entreated him, in memory of their common studies and exercises, to put his hand to his sword, and help him to give the thrust. Volumnius, as well as several others, refused; and one of them observing that they must necessarily fly, "We must fly, indeed," said Brutus, rising hastily, "but not with our feet, but with our hands." He then took each of them by the hand, and

spoke with great appearance of cheerfulness, to the following purpose:—"It is an infinite satisfaction to me, that all my friends have been faithful. If I am angry with fortune, it is for the sake of my country. Myself I esteem more happy than the conquerors, not only in respect of the past, but in my present situation. I shall leave behind me that reputation for virtue which they, with all their wealth and power, will never acquire; for posterity will not scruple to believe and declare, that they were an abandoned set of men, who destroyed the virtuous for the sake of that empire to which they had no right." After this he entreated them severally to provide for their own safety; and withdrew with only two or three of his most intimate friends. One of these was Strato, with whom he first became acquainted when he studied rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himself, and laying hold of the hilt of his sword with both his hands, he fell upon the point, and died. Some say that Strato, at the earnest request of Brutus, turned aside his head, and held the sword; upon which he threw himself with such violence, that, entering at his breast, it passed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Messala, the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæsar, took occasion to recommend Strato to his favour. "This," said he, with tears, "is the man who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." Cæsar received him with kindness; and he was one of those brave Greeks who afterwards attended him at the battle of Actium. Of Messala, it is said, that when Cæsar observed he had been no less zealous in his service at Actium than he had been against him at Philippi, he answered, "I have always taken the best and justest side." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered it to be covered with the richest robe he had; and that being stolen, he put the thief to death. The ashes of Brutus he sent to his mother Servilia.

With regard to Porcia, his wife, Nicolaus the philosopher, and Valerius Maximus,* tell us, that being prevented

* Euripides, *Medea*.

* Valerius Maximus speaks of her fortitude on this occasion in the highest terms:—*Tuos quoque castissimos Ignes. Portia, M.*

from that death she wished for, by the constant vigilance of her friends, she snatched some burning coals from the

Catonis filia cuncta secula debita admiratione prosequuntur: Quæ cum apud Philippos victum et interemptum virum tuum Brutum cognoscere, quia ferrum non debatur, aruentes ore Carbones, haurire non dubitasti, muliebri spiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. Sed nescio an hoc fortius, quod ille usitato, tu novo genere mortis absumpta est.
VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 6.

fire, and shut them close in her mouth till she was suffocated. Notwithstanding, there is a letter from Brutus to his friends still extant, in which he laments the death of Porcia; and complains that their neglect of her must have made her prefer death to the continuance of her illness; so that Nicolaus appears to have been mistaken in the time, at least, if this epistle be authentic, for it describes Porcia's distemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her death.

DION AND BRUTUS COMPARED.

WHAT is principally to be admired in the lives of Dion and Brutus, is their rising to such importance from inconsiderable beginnings. But here Dion has the advantage, for, in the progress of glory, he had no coadjutor: whereas Cassius went hand in hand with Brutus; and though in the reputation of virtue and honour he was by no means his equal, in military experience, resolution, and activity he was not inferior. Some have imputed to him the origin of the whole enterprise, and have asserted, that Brutus would never, otherwise, have engaged in it. But Dion, at the same time that he made the whole military preparations himself, engaged the friends and associates of his design. He did not, like Brutus, gain power and riches from the war; he employed that wealth on which he was to subsist as an exile in a foreign country, in restoring the liberties of his own. When Brutus and Cassius fled from Rome, and found no asylum from the pursuit of their enemies, their only resource was war; and they took up arms as much in their own defence as in that of the common liberty. Dion, on the contrary, was happier in his banishment than the tyrant that banished him; and yet he voluntarily exposed himself to danger for the freedom of Sicily. Besides, to deliver the Romans from Cæsar, and the Syracusans from Dionysius, were enterprises of a very different kind. Dionysius was an avowed and established tyrant; and Sicily, with reason, groaned beneath his yoke. But with respect to Cæsar, though, whilst his imperial power was in its infancy, he treated his opponents with severity:

yet, as soon as that power was confirmed, the tyranny was rather a nominal than a real thing, for no tyrannical action could be laid to his charge. Nay, such was the condition of Rome, that it evidently required a master; and Cæsar was no more than a tender and skilful physician appointed by Providence to heal the distemper of the state. Of course the people lamented his death, and were implacably enraged against his assassins. Dion, on the contrary, was reproached by the Syracusans for suffering Dionysius to escape, and not digging up the former tyrant's grave.

With regard to their military conduct, Dion, as a general, was without a fault; he not only made the most of his own instructions, but, where others failed, he happily repaired the error. But it was wrong in Brutus to hazard a second battle, where all was at stake.* And when that battle was lost, he had neither sagacity enough to think of new resources, nor spirit, like Pompey, to contend with fortune, though he had still reason to rely on his troops, and was absolute master at sea.

But what Brutus is chiefly blamed for was his ingratitude to Cæsar. He owed his life to his favour, as well as the lives of those prisoners for whom he interceded. He was treated as his friend, and distinguished with particular marks of honour; and yet he imbrued his hands in the blood of his benefactor. Dion stands clear of any

* This censure seems very unjust. The wavering disposition of Cassius's troops obliged him to come to a second engagement.

charge like this. As a relation of Dionysius, he assisted and was useful to him in the administration; in which case his services were equal to his honours. When he was driven into exile, and deprived of his wife and his fortune, he had every motive that was just and honourable to take up arms against him.

Yet if this circumstance is considered in another light, Brutus will have the advantage. The greatest glory of both consists in their abhorrence of tyrants, and their criminal measures. This, in Brutus, was not blended with any other motive. He had no quarrel with Cæsar; but exposed his life for the liberty of his country. Had not Dion been injured, he had not fought. This is clear from Plato's epistles; where it appears, that he was banished from the court of Dionysius, and in consequence of that banishment made war upon him. For the good of the community, Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend; and though a friend to Cæsar, he became his enemy. His enmity and his friendship arose from the same principle, which was justice. But Dion, whilst in favour, employed his services for Dionysius; and it was not till he was disgraced that he armed against him. Of course, his friends were not quite satisfied with his enterprise. They were apprehensive, that when he had destroyed the tyrant, he might seize the government himself, and amuse the people with some softer title than that of tyranny. On the other hand, the very enemies of Brutus acknowledge that he was the only conspirator who had no other view than that of restoring the ancient form of government.

Besides, the enterprise against Dionysius cannot be placed in competition with that against Cæsar. The former had rendered himself contemptible by his low manners, his drunkenness, and debauchery.—But to meditate the fall of Cæsar, and not tremble at his dignity, his fortune, or his power,—nor shrink at that name which shook the kings of India and Parthia on their thrones, and disturbed their slumbers.—this showed a superiority of soul, on which fear could have no influence. Dion was no sooner seen in Sicily than he was joined by thousands; but the authority of Cæsar was so formidable

in Rome, that it supported his friends even after he was dead; and a simple boy rose to the first eminence of power, by adopting his name; which served as a charm against the envy and the influence of Antony. Should it be objected that Dion had the sharpest conflicts in expelling the tyrant, but that Cæsar fell naked and unguarded beneath the sword of Brutus, it will argue at least a consummate management and prudence to be able to come at a man of his power naked and unguarded; particularly when it is considered that the blow was not sudden, nor the work of one, or of a few men, but meditated, and communicated to many associates, of whom not one deceived the leader: for either he had the power of distinguishing honest men at the first view, or such as he chose he made honest by the confidence he reposed in them. But Dion confided in men of bad principles; so that he must either have been injudicious in his choice, or, if his people grew worse after their appointments, unskilful in his management. Neither of these can be consistent with the talents and conduct of a wise man; and Plato, accordingly, blames him in his letters, for making choice of such friends as, in the end, were his ruin.

Dion found no friend to revenge his death; but Brutus received an honourable interment, even from his enemy Antony; and Cæsar allowed of that public respect which was paid to his memory, as will appear from the following circumstance:—A statue of brass had been erected to him at Milan, in Gallia Cisalpina, which was a fine performance, and a striking likeness. Cæsar, as he passed through the town, took notice of it, and summoning the magistrates, in the presence of his attendants, he told them, that they had broken the league, by harbouring one of his enemies. The magistrates, as may well be supposed, denied it; and stared at each other, profoundly ignorant what enemy he could mean. He then turned towards the statue, and, knitting his brows, said, "Is not this my enemy that stands here?" The poor Milanese were struck dumb with astonishment; but Cæsar told them, with a smile, that he was pleased to find them faithful to their friends in adversity, and ordered that the statue should continue where it was.



ARTAXERXES.

THE first Artaxerxes, who of all the Persian kings was most distinguished for his moderation and greatness of mind, was surnamed *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than his left. He was the son of Xerxes. The second Artaxerxes, surnamed *Maemon*,* whose life we are going to write, was son to the daughter of the first. For Darius, by his wife Parysatis, had four sons; Artaxerxes the eldest, Cyrus the second, and Ostanes and Oxathres the two younger. Cyrus was called after the ancient king of that name, as he is said to have been after the sun; for the Persians call the sun *Cyrus*. Artaxerxes at first was named Arsaces,† though Dinon asserts that his original name was Oartes.‡ But though Ctesias has filled his books with a number of incredible and extravagant fables, it is not probable that he should be ignorant of the name of a king at whose court he lived, in quality of physician to him, his wife, his mother, and his children.

Cyrus from his infancy was of a violent and impetuous temper; but Artaxerxes had a native mildness, something gentle and moderate in his whole

disposition. The latter married a beautiful and virtuous lady, by order of his parents, and he kept her when they wanted him to put her away; for the king having put her brother to death,§

§ Teriteuchmes, the brother of Statira, had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murder; which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in them. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes, governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arsaces, was charmed with her beauty, and married her. At the same time Teriteuchmes, her brother, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister to Arsaces; by reason of which marriage he had interest enough, on his father's demise, to get himself appointed to his government. But in the meantime he conceived a passion for his own sister Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira; and, that he might enjoy her without constraint, resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris, and light up the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. Darius being apprized of his design, engaged Udiastes an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Upon this some commotions were raised by the son of Teriteuchmes; but the king's forces having the superiority, all the family of Hydarnes were apprehended, and delivered to Parysatis, that she might execute her revenge upon them for the injury done, or intended, to her daughter. That cruel princess put them all to death.

* So called on account of his extraordinary memory.

† Or Arsaces.

‡ Or Oartes.

designed that she should share his fate. But Arsicas applied to his mother with many tears and entreaties, and, with much difficulty, prevailed upon her not only to spare her life but to excuse him from divorcing her. Yet his mother had the greater affection for Cyrus, and was desirous of raising him to the throne; therefore, when he was called from his residence on the coast, in the sickness of Darius, he returned full of hopes that the queen's interest had established him successor. Parysatis had, indeed, a specious pretence, which the ancient Xerxes had made use of at the suggestion of Demaratus, that she had brought Darius his son Arsicas when he was in a private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail. Darius appointed his eldest son his successor; on which occasion his name was changed to Artaxerxes. Cyrus had the government of Lydia, and was to be commander in chief on the coast.

Soon after the death of Darius, the king, his successor, went to Pasargadae, in order to be consecrated, according to custom, by the priests of Persia. In that city there is the temple of a goddess who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and therefore may be supposed to be Minerva. The prince to be consecrated must enter that temple, put off his own robe there, and take that which was worn by the Great Cyrus before he was king. He must eat a cake of figs, chew some turpentine, and drink a cup of acidulated milk. Whether there are any other ceremonies is unknown, except to the persons concerned. As Artaxerxes was on the point of going to be consecrated, Tissaphernes brought to him a priest, who had been chief inspector of Cyrus's education in his infancy, and had instructed him in the learning of the Magi; and therefore might be supposed to be as much concerned as any man in Persia, at his

except Statira, whom she spared, at the earnest entreaties of her husband Arsaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius. But Arsaces was no sooner settled upon the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to leave Udiastes to her correction; and she put him to a death too cruel to be described. Parysatis, in return, poisoned the son of Triteuchmes; and, not long after, Statira herself. Ctes. in Pers.

pupil's not being appointed king. For that reason his accusation against Cyrus could not but gain credit. He accused him of a design to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and, after he had put off his garment, to fall upon him and destroy him. Some affirm that Cyrus was immediately seized upon this information; others, that he got into the temple, and concealed himself there, but was pointed out by the priest; in consequence of which he was to be put to death; but his mother, at that moment, took him in her arms, bound the tresses of her hair about him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and entreaties prevailed to have him pardoned, and remanded to the seacoast. Nevertheless, he was far from being satisfied with his government. Instead of thinking of his brother's favour with gratitude, he remembered only the indignity of chains; and, in his resentment, aspired more than ever after the sovereignty.

Some, indeed, say, that he thought the allowance for his table insufficient, and therefore revolted from his king. But this is a foolish pretext; for if he had no other resource, his mother would have supplied him with whatever he wanted out of her revenues. Besides, there needs no greater proof of his riches than the number of foreign troops that he entertained in his service, which were kept for him in various parts by his friends and retainers; for, the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in a body, but had his emissaries in different places, who enlisted foreigners on various pretences. Meanwhile his mother, who lived at court, made it her business to remove the king's suspicions, and Cyrus himself always wrote in a lenient style; sometimes begging a candid interpretation, and sometimes recriminating upon Tissaphernes, as if his contention had been solely with that grandee. Add to this, that the king had a dilatory turn of mind, which was natural to him, and which many took for moderation. At first, indeed, he seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all that addressed him, and distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand.

He took care that punishments should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not anything, however trifling, brought him by way of present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, "By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made governor of a small city, would soon make it a great one." When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing else to give him, ran to the river, and brought him some water in his hands. Artaxerxes was so much pleased, that he sent the man a gold cup and a thousand darics. When Euclidas, the Lacedæmonian, said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this answer, "You may say what you please to the king; but the king would have you to know, that he can not only say, but do." One day, as he was hunting, Tiribazus showed him a rent in his robe; upon which the king said, "What shall I do with it?" "Put on another, and give that to me," said Tiribazus. "It shall be so," said the king: "I give it thee, but I charge thee not to wear it." Tiribazus, who, though not a bad man, was giddy and vain, disregarded the restriction, soon put on the robe, and at the same time tricked himself out with some golden ornaments, fit only for queens. The court expressed great indignation, because it was a thing contrary to their laws and customs; but the king only laughed, and said to him, "I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman."

None had been admitted to the king of Persia's table but his mother and his wife; the former of which sat above him, and the latter below him: Artaxerxes, nevertheless, did that honour to Ostanès and Oxathrès, two of his younger brothers. But what afforded the Persians the most pleasing spectacle, was the queen Statira always

riding in her chariot with the curtains open, and admitting the women of the country to approach and salute her. These things made his administration popular. Yet there were some turbulent and factious men, who represented that the affairs of Persia required a king of such a magnificent spirit, so able a warrior, and so generous a master as Cyrus was; and that the dignity of so great an empire could not be supported without a prince of high thoughts and noble ambition. It was not, therefore, without a confidence in some of the Persians, as well as in the maritime provinces, that Cyrus undertook the war.

He wrote also to the Lacedæmonians for assistance; promising, that to the foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots; that on those who had farms he would bestow villages, and on those who had villages, cities. As for their pay, he assured them it should not be counted, but measured out to them. At the same time he spoke in very high terms of himself, telling them he had a greater and more princely heart than his brother; that he was the better philosopher, being instructed in the doctrines of the Magi, and that he could drink and bear more wine than his brother. Artaxerxes, he said, was so timorous and effeminate a man, that he could not sit a horse in hunting, nor a chariot in time of war. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, sent the scytable to Clearchus, with orders to serve Cyrus in every thing he demanded.*

Cyrus began his march against the king with a numerous army of barbarians,† and almost thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries.‡ He found one

* They took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him in what they had done.

XENOPH. de Expedit. Cyri. l. i.

† A hundred thousand barbarians.

‡ Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotians were under Proxenes, a Theban; and the Thessalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded

pretence after another for having such an armament on foot : but his real designs did not remain long undiscovered. For Tissaphernes went in person to inform the king of them.

This news put the court in great disorder. Parysatis was censured as the principal cause of this war, and her friends were suspected of a private intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, in her distress about the war, gave Parysatis the most trouble. "Where is now," she cried, "that faith which you pledged? Where your intercessions, by which you saved the man that was conspiring against his brother? Have they not brought war and all its calamities upon us?" These expostulations fixed in the heart of Parysatis, who was naturally vindictive and barbarous in her resentment and revenge, such a hatred of Statira that she contrived to take her off. Dinon writes, that this cruel purpose was put in execution during the war; but Ctesias assures us, it was after it. And it is not probable that he, who was an eyewitness to the transactions of that court, could either be ignorant of the time when the assassination took place, or could have any reason to misrepresent the date of it; though he often deviates into fictitious tales, and loves to give us invention instead of truth. We shall therefore leave this story to the order of time in which he has placed it.

While Cyrus was upon his march, he had accounts brought him that the king did not design to try the fortune of the field by giving battle immediately, but to wait in Persia till his forces were assembled there from all parts of his kingdom. And though he had drawn a trench across the plain ten fathoms wide, as many deep,* and four hundred furlongs in length, yet he suffered Cyrus to pass him, and to march almost to Babylon.† Tiribazus,

by Persian generals, of whom Ariacus was the chief. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships, under Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian; and twenty-five commanded by Tamos, an Egyptian, who was admiral of the whole fleet. On this occasion Proxenes presented Xenophon to Cyrus, who gave him a commission amongst the Greek mercenaries.

* Xenophon says, this trench was only five fathoms wide, and three deep.

† There was a passage twenty feet wide

we are told, was the first who ventured to remonstrate to the king, that he ought not any longer to avoid an action, nor to abandon Media, Babylon, and even Susa to the enemy, and hide himself in Persia; since he had an army infinitely greater than theirs, and ten thousand Satrapæ and other officers, all of them superior to those of Cyrus, both in courage and conduct.

Upon this he took a resolution to come to action as soon as possible. His sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men, well prepared and accoutred, extremely surprised the rebels, who, through the confidence they had in themselves, and contempt of their enemy, were marching in great confusion, and even without their arms. So that it was with great difficulty that Cyrus reduced them to any order; and he could not do it at last without much noise and tumult. As the king advanced in silence, and at a slow pace, the good discipline of the troops afforded an astonishing spectacle to the Greeks, who expected amongst such a multitude nothing but disorderly shouts and motions, and every other instance of distraction and confusion. He showed his judgment, too, in placing the strongest of his armed chariots before that part of his phalanx which was opposite to the Greeks, that by the impetuosity of their motion they might break the enemy's ranks before they came to close combat.

Many historians have described this battle; but Xenophon has done it with such life and energy that we do not read an account of it; we see it; and feel all the danger. It would be very absurd, therefore, to attempt anything after him, except the mentioning some material circumstances which he has omitted.

The place where the battle was fought is called Cunaxa, and is five hundred furlongs from Babylon. A little before the action, Clearchus advised Cyrus to post himself behind the Macedonians,‡ and not risk his person; upon which he is reported to have said,

left between the trench and the Euphrates, and Artaxerxes neglected to defend it.

‡ This is undoubtedly the error of some transcriber; and for *Macedonians* we should read *Lacedæmonians*.

"What advice is this, Clearchus? Would you have me, at the very time I am aiming at a crown, to show myself unworthy of one." Cyrus, indeed, committed an error in rushing into the midst of the greatest danger without care or caution; but Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, in not consenting to place his Greeks opposite to the king, and in getting the river on his right, to prevent his being surrounded. For, if safety was his principal object, and he was by all means to avoid loss, he ought to have staid at home. But to carry his arms ten thousand furlongs from the sea, without necessity or constraint, and solely with a view to place Cyrus on the throne of Persia, and then not to be solicitous for a post where he might best defend his prince whose pay he received, but for one in which he might act most at ease and in the greatest safety, was to behave like a man who, on the sight of present danger, abandons the whole enterprise, and forgets the purpose of his expedition. For it appears, from the course of the action, that if the Greeks had charged those that were posted about the king's person, they would not have stood the shock: and after Artaxerxes had been slain, or put to flight, the conqueror must have gained the crown without further interruption. Therefore, the ruin of Cyrus's affairs and his death is much rather to be ascribed to the caution of Clearchus, than to his own rashness; for, if the king himself had been to choose a post for the Greeks, where they might do him the least prejudice, he could not have pitched upon a better than that which was most remote from himself and the troops about him. At the distance he was from Clearchus, he knew not of the defeat of that part of his army which was near the river, and Cyrus was cut off before he could avail himself of the advantages gained by the Greeks. Cyrus, indeed, was sensible what disposition would have been of most service to him, and for that reason ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre; but Clearchus ruined all, notwithstanding his assurances of doing everything for the best; for the Greeks beat the barbarians with ease, and pursued them a considerable way.

In the meantime, Cyrus being mounted on Pasacas, a horse of great spirit, but at the same time headstrong and unruly, fell in, as Ctesias tells us, with Artagereses, general of the Caducians, who met him upon the gallop, and called out to him in these terms:—"Most unjust and most stupid of men, who disgracest the name of Cyrus, the most august of all names among the Persians; thou leadeest these brave Greeks a vile way to plunder thy native country, and to destroy thy brother and thy king, who has many millions of servants that are better men than thou: try if he has not, and here thou shalt lose thy head, before thou canst see the face of the king." So saying, he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but his cuirass was of such excellent temper that he was not wounded, though the violence of the blow shook him in his seat. Then, as Artagereses was turning his horse, Cyrus aimed a stroke at him with his spear, and the point of it entered at his collar bone, and pierced through his neck. That Artagereses fell by the hand of Cyrus, almost all historians agree. As to the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon has given a very short account of it, because he was not on the spot when it happened, perhaps it may not be amiss to give the manner of it in detail, as Dinon and Ctesias have represented it.

Dinon tells us, that Cyrus, after he had slain Artagereses, charged the vanguard of Artaxerxes with great fury, wounded the king's horse and dismounted him. Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horse, and said, "Sir, remember this day, for it deserves not to be forgotten." At the second attack, Cyrus spurred his horse against the king, and gave him a wound;* at the third, Artaxerxes in great indignation, said to those that were by, "It is better to die than to suffer all this." At the same time he advanced against Cyrus, who was rashly advancing to meet a shower of darts. The king wounded him with his javelin, and others did the same. Thus fell Cyrus, as some say, by the blow which the king gave him; but, accord-

* Or, with the violence of the encounter beat the king from his horse. 3 Y

ing to others, it was a Carian soldier who despatched him, and who afterwards, for his exploit, had the honour of carrying a golden cock at the head of the army, on the point of his spear; for the Persians called the Carians cocks, on account of the crests with which they adorned their helmets.

Ctesias's story is very long, but the purport of it is this. When Cyrus had slain Artagerses, he pushed his horse up towards the king, and the king advanced against him; both in silence. Ariacus, one of the friends of Cyrus, first aimed a blow at the king, but did not wound him. Then the king threw his javelin at Cyrus, but missed him; the weapon, however, did execution upon Tissaphernes,* a man of approved valour, and a faithful servant to Cyrus. It was now Cyrus's turn to try his javelin; it pierced the king's cuirass, and going two fingers deep into his breast, brought him from his horse. This caused such disorder in his troops that they fled. But the king recovering, retired with a few of his men, among whom was Ctesias, to an eminence not far off, and there reposed himself. In the meantime, Cyrus's horse, grown more furious by the action, carried him deep amongst the enemy; and as night was coming on, they did not know him, and his own men sought for him in vain. Elated, however, with victory, and naturally daring and impetuous, he kept on, crying out in the Persian language as he went, "Make way, ye slaves, make way." They humbled themselves, and opened their ranks; but his tiara happened to fall from his head, and a young Persian, named Mithridates, in passing, wounded him with his lance in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. Such a quantity of blood issued from the wound that he was seized with a giddiness, and fell senseless from his horse. The horse, having lost his rider, wandered about the field; the furniture too was fallen off, and the servant of Mithridates, who had given him the wound, took it up, all stained with blood.

* *Tissaphernes* is probably an erroneous reading. We know of no *Tissaphernes* but the grantee of that name, who was a faithful servant to Artaxerxes. One of the manuscripts gives us *Satiphernes*.

At last Cyrus, with much difficulty, began to recover from his swoon; and a few eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him on another horse, and so to carry him out of danger. But as he was too weak to sit a horse, he thought it better to walk, and the eunuchs supported him as he went. His head was still heavy, and he tottered at every step; yet he imagined himself victorious, because he heard the fugitives calling Cyrus king, and imploring mercy.

At that instant some Caunians of mean condition, who performed the most servile offices for the royal army, happened to mix with the company of Cyrus as friends. They perceived, however, though not without difficulty, that the clothing of his people was red, whereas that given by the king their master was white. One of these then ventured to give Cyrus a stroke with his spear behind, without knowing him to be the prince. The weapon hit his ham, and cut the sinew; upon which he fell, and in falling dashed his wounded temple against a stone, and died upon the spot. Such is Ctesias's story of the death of Cyrus, which, like a blunt weapon, hacks and hews him a long time, and can hardly kill him at last.

Soon after Cyrus expired, an officer, who was called *the King's Eye*, passed that way. Artasyras, (for that was his name) knowing the eunuchs who were mourning over the corpse, addressed him who appeared to be most faithful to his master, and said, "Pariscas, who is that whom thou art lamenting so much?" "O, Artasyras!" answered the eunuch, "see you not Prince Cyrus dead?" Artasyras was astonished at the event; however, he desired the eunuch to compose himself, and take care of the corpse; and then rode at full speed to Artaxerxes, who had given up all for lost, and was ready to faint, both with thirst and with the anguish of his wound. In these circumstances the officer found him, and with a joyful accent hailed him in these words, "I have seen Cyrus dead." The king at first was impatient to see the dead body himself, and commanded Artasyras immediately to conduct him to it. But finding all the field full of terror and dismay, upon a report

hat the Greeks, victorious in their quarter, were pursuing the fugitives and putting all to the sword, he thought proper to send out a greater number to reconnoitre the place which Artasyras had told him of. Accordingly thirty men went with flambeaux in their hands. Still the king was almost dying with thirst, and the eunuch, Satibarzanes, sought every place for water; for the field afforded none, and they were at a great distance from the camp. After much search, he found one of those poor Caunians had about two quarts of bad water in a mean bottle, and he took it and carried it to the king. After the king had drank it all up, the eunuch asked him, "If he did not find it a disagreeable beverage?" Upon which he swore by all the gods, "That he had never drank the most delicious wine, nor the lightest and clearest water, with so much pleasure. I wish only," continued he, "that I could find the man who gave it thee, that I might make him a recompense. In the meantime I entreat the gods to make him happy and rich."

While he was speaking, the thirty men whom he had sent out returned in great exultation, and confirmed the news of his unexpected good fortune. Now, likewise, numbers of his troops repaired to him again, and dismissing his fears, he descended from the eminence, with many torches carried before him. When he came to the dead body, according to the law of the Persians, the right hand and the head were cut off; and having ordered the head to be brought to him, he took it by the hair, which was long and thick, and showed it to the fugitives, and to such as were still doubtful of the fortune of the day. They were astonished at the sight, and prostrated themselves before him. Seventy thousand men soon assembled about him, and with them he returned to his camp. Ctesias tells us, he had led four hundred thousand men that day into the field; but Dion and Xenophon make that number much greater. As to the number of the killed, Ctesias says, an account only of nine thousand was brought to Artaxerxes; whereas there appeared to Ctesias himself to be no fewer than twenty thousand. That article, therefore, must be left dubious.

But nothing can be a more palpable falsity than what Ctesias adds, that he was sent ambassador to the Greeks in conjunction with Phayllus, the Zacynthian, and some others; for Xenophon knew that Ctesias was at the Persian court; he mentions him in his works, and it is plain that he had met with his books. Therefore, if he had been joined in commission to settle such important affairs, he would not have passed him by unnoticed, but would have mentioned him with Phayllus. Ctesias, indeed, was a man of unbounded vanity, as well as strong attachment to Clearchus; and for that reason always leaves a corner in the story for himself, when he is dressing out the praises of Clearchus and the Lacedæmonians.

After the battle, the king sent great and valuable presents to the son of Artagerse, who was slain by Cyrus. He rewarded also Ctesias and others in a distinguished manner; and having found the Caunian who gave him the bottle of water, he raised him from indigence and obscurity, to riches and honours. There was something of an analogy between his punishments and the crime. One Arbaces, a Mede, in the battle deserted to Cyrus, and, after that prince was killed, came back to his colours. As he perceived that the man had done it rather out of cowardice than any treasonable design, all the penalty he laid upon him was to carry about a naked courtesan upon his shoulders, a whole day in the market-place. Another, besides deserting, had given it out that he had killed two of the enemy; and for his punishment, he only ordered his tongue to be pierced through with three needles.

He supposed, and he was desirous of having it pass upon the world, that Cyrus fell by his hand. This induced him to send valuable presents to Mithridates, who gave him the first wound, and to instruct the messengers to say, "The king does you this honour, because you found the furniture of Cyrus's horse, and brought it to him." And when the Carian, who gave Cyrus the stroke in his ham that caused his death, asked for his reward, he ordered those who gave it him to say, "The king bestows this upon you, because you

were the second person that brought him good tidings; for Artasyras was the first, and you the next that brought him an account of the death of Cyrus." Mithridates went away in silence, though not without concern. But the unhappy Carian could not conquer the common disease of vanity. Elated with what he thought his good fortune, and aspiring to things above his walk in life, he would not receive his reward for tidings, but angrily insisted, and called the gods and men to witness, that he, and no other man killed Cyrus; and that it was not just to rob him of the glory.

The king was so much incensed at this that he ordered the man's head to be cut off. But his mother, Parysatis, being present, said, "Let not this villanous Carian go off so; leave him to me, and he shall have the reward which his audacious tongue deserves." Accordingly the king gave him up to her, and she delivered him to the executioners, with orders to torture him for ten days, and then to tear out his eyes, and pour molten brass into his ears till he expired.

Mithridates also came to a miserable end soon after, through his own folly. Being invited one evening to supper, where both the eunuchs of the king, and those of his mother were present, he went in a robe embroidered with gold, which he had received from the king. During the entertainment, Parysatis's principal eunuch took occasion to say, "What a beautiful garment is this, Mithridates, which the king has given you! how handsome are those bracelets and that chain! how valuable your scimitar! he has certainly made you not only a great, but a happy man." Mithridates, who by this time was flushed with wine, made answer, "What are these things, Sparamixes? I deserve much greater marks of honour than these for the services I rendered the king that day." Then Sparamixes replied, with a smile, "I speak not in the least out of envy; but since, according to the Greek proverb, there is truth in wine, let me tell you my mind freely, and ask you what great matter it is to find a horse's furniture fallen off, and bring it to the king." This he said, not that he was ignorant of the real state of the case

but because he wanted to lay him open, and saw that the wine had made him talkative, and taken him off his guard, he studied to pique his vanity. Mithridates, no longer master of himself, said, "You may talk of what furniture and what trifles you please; but I tell you plainly, it was by this hand that Cyrus was slain. For I did not, like Artagerses, throw my javelin in vain, but pierced his temples near the eye, and brought him to the ground; and of that wound he died." The rest of the company saw the dreadful fate that would befall Mithridates, and looked with dejected eyes upon the ground; but he who gave the entertainment said, "Let us now attend to our eating and drinking; and adoring the fortune of the king, let such matters alone as are too high for us."

Immediately after the company broke up, the eunuch told Parysatis what had been said, and she informed the king. Artaxerxes, like a person detected, and one who had lost a victory out of his hands, was enraged at this discovery; for he was desirous of making all the barbarians and Greeks believe, that in the several encounters he both gave and received blows; and that though he was wounded himself, he killed his adversary. He therefore condemned Mithridates to the punishment of *the Boat*: The manner of it is this:—They take two boats, which are made to fit each other, and extend the criminal in one of them in a supine posture. Then they turn the other upon it, so that the poor wretch's body is covered, and only the head and hands are out at one end, and the feet at the other. They give him victuals daily, and if he refuses to eat, they compel him by pricking him in the eyes. After he has eaten, they make him drink a mixture of honey and milk, which they pour into his mouth. They spread the same, too, over his face, and always turn him so as to have the sun full in his eyes; the consequence of which is, that his face is covered with swarms of flies. As all the necessary evacuations of a man who eats and drinks are within the boat, the filthiness and corruption engender a quantity of worms, which consume his flesh, and penetrate to his entrails. When they find that the man is dead.

they take off the upper boat, and have the spectacle of a carcass whose flesh is eaten away, and of numberless vermin clinging to and gnawing the bowels. Mithridates with much difficulty found death, after he had been consumed in this manner for seventeen days.

There remained now no other mark for the vengeance of Parysatis but Mesabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who cut off Cyrus's head and hand. As he took care to give her no handle against him, she laid this scheme for his destruction. She was a woman of keen parts in all respects, and in particular she played well at dice. The king often played with her before the war, and being reconciled to her after it, took the same diversion with her. She was even the confidant of his pleasures, and scrupled not to assist him in anything of gallantry.

Statira indeed was the object of her hatred, and she let her have a very small share of the king's company; for she was determined to have the principal interest with him herself. One day, finding Artaxerxes wanted something to pass away the time, she challenged him to play for a thousand *darius*, and purposely managed her dice so ill, that she lost. She paid the money immediately, but pretended to be much chagrined, and called on him to play again for an eunuch. He consented to the proposal, and they agreed each of them to except five of their most faithful eunuchs; the winner was to have his choice out of the rest. On these conditions they played. The queen, who had the affair at heart, exerted all her skill, and, being favoured besides by the dice, won the eunuch, and pitched upon Mesabates, who was not of the number of the excepted. He was immediately delivered to her, and before the king suspected anything of her intentions, she put him in the hands of the executioners, with orders to flay him alive, to fix his body on three stakes, and to stretch out his skin by itself. The king was highly incensed, and expressed his resentment in strong terms; but she only said in a laughing ironical way, "This is pleasant indeed, that you must be so angry about an old useless eunuch, while I say not a word of my loss of a thousand *darius*." The king,

though much concerned at the imposition, held his peace. But Statira, who on other occasions openly censured the practice of the queen mother, complained now of her injustice and cruelty, in sacrificing to Cyrus the eunuchs, and other faithful servants of the king.

After Tissaphernes* had deceived Clearchus and the other Grecian officers, and, contrary to the treaty and his oaths, put them in chains, Ctesias tells us, that Clearchus made interest with him for the recovery of a comb. When he had obtained it, it seems, he was so much pleased with the use of it, that he took his ring from his finger, and gave it Ctesias, that it might appear as a token of his regard for him to his friends and relations in Lacedæmon. The device was a dance of the *Caryatides*.† He adds, that whenever provisions were sent to Clearchus, his fellow prisoners took most of them for themselves, and left him a very small share; but that he corrected this abuse, by procuring a larger quantity to be sent to Clearchus, and separating the allowance of the others from his. All this (according to our author) was done with the consent, and by the favour of Parysatis. As he sent every day a gammon of bacon among the provisions, Clearchus suggested to him, that he might easily conceal a small dagger in the fleshy part, and begged earnestly that he would do it, that his fate might not be left to the cruel disposition of Artaxerxes; but, through fear of the king's displeasure, he refused it. The king, however, at the request of his mother, promised upon oath, not to put Clearchus to death; but afterwards he was persuaded, by

* Tissaphernes, by promises which he did not intend to keep, drew Clearchus to an interview in his tent. He went with four principal officers and twenty captains to wait on the Persian, who put Clearchus and the four officers under arrest, and ordered the twenty captains to be cut in pieces. Some time after the king commanded Clearchus and all the four officers, except Menon, to be beheaded. XENOPH. de Exped. Cyri. l. ii.

† Carya was a town in Laconia, where there was a temple of Diana. Indeed, the whole town was dedicated to Diana and her nymphs. In the court before the temple stood a statue of *Diana Caryatis*, and the Spartan virgins kept a yearly festival, on which they danced round it.

Statira, to destroy all the prisoners, except Menon. On this account he tells us Parysatis plotted against Statira, and resolved to take her off by poison. But it is a great absurdity in Ctesias to assign so disproportionate a cause. Would Parysatis, for the sake of Clearchus, undertake so horrid and dangerous an enterprise as that of poisoning the king's lawful wife, by whom he had children and an heir to his crown? It is clear enough that he tells us this fabulous tale to do honour to the memory of Clearchus; for he adds, that the carcasses of the other officers were torn in pieces by dogs and birds, but that a storm of wind brought a great heap of sand and provided a tomb for Clearchus. Around this heap there sprung up a number of palm-trees, which soon grew into an admirable grove, and spread their protecting shade over the place; so that the king repented greatly of what he had done, believing that he had destroyed a man who was a favourite of the gods.

It was, therefore, only from the hatred and jealousy which Parysatis had entertained of Statira from the first, that she embarked in so cruel a design. She saw that her own power with the king depended only on his reverence for her as his mother; whereas that of Statira was founded in love, and confirmed by the greatest confidence in her fidelity. The point she had to carry was great, and she resolved to make one desperate effort. She had a faithful and favourite attendant, named Gigis, who, as Dion tells us, assisted in the affair of the poison; but, according to Ctesias, she was only conscious to it, and that against her will. The former calls the person, who provided the poison, Melantas; the latter, Belitaras.

These two princesses had, in appearance, forgot their old suspicions and animosities, and began to visit and eat at each other's table. But they did it with so much distrust and caution as to make it a rule to eat of the same dish, and even of the same slices. There is a small bird in Persia, which has no excrements, the intestines being only filled with fat; on which account it is supposed to live upon air and dew; the name of it is *rhynataces*. Ctesias writes, that Parysatis divided one of

these birds with a small knife that was poisoned on one side, and taking the wholesomer part herself, gave the other to Statira. Dion, however, affirms, that it was not Parysatis, but Melantas, who cut the bird in two, and presented the poisoned part to Statira. Be that as it may, she died in dreadful agonies and convulsions; and was not only sensible herself of the cause, but intimated her suspicions to the king, who knew too well the savage and implacable temper of his mother; he, therefore, immediately made an inquisition into the affair. He took her officers and servants that attended at her table, and put them to the torture; but she kept Gigis in her own apartment, and when the king demanded her, refused to give her up. At last Gigis begged of the queen-mother to let her go in the night to her own house; and the king being informed of it, ordered some of his guards to intercept her. Accordingly she was seized and condemned to die. The laws of Persia have provided this punishment for prisoners; their heads are placed on a broad stone, and then crushed with another, till nothing of the figure remains: in that manner was Gigis executed. As for Parysatis, the king did not reproach her with her crime, nor punish her any farther than by sending her to Babylon (which was the place she desired to retire to), and declaring that he would never visit that city while she lived. Such was the state of his domestic affairs.

He was no less solicitous to get the Greeks into his hands, who had followed Cyrus into Asia, than he had been to conquer Cyrus himself, and to keep the crown; but he could not succeed.* For though they had lost Cy-

* The Greeks were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous army flushed with victory; and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemy's country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties, and, in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, through the provinces belonging to the Persians, and got safe to the Greek cities on the Euxine sea. Clearchus had the conduct of this march at first; but

rus their general, and their own officers, yet they forced their way, as it were, out of the very palace of Artaxerxes, and made it appear to all the world that the Persians and their king had nothing to value themselves upon but wealth, luxury, women, and that the rest was mere parade and ostentation. This gave fresh spirits to the Greeks, and taught them to despise the barbarians. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, thought it would be a great dishonour, if they did not now deliver the Asiatic Greeks from servitude, and put an end to the insults of the Persians. Their first attempt was under the direction of Thimbro, and the next under that of Dercyllidas; but as those generals affected nothing of importance, the conduct of the war was given to Agesilaus. That prince immediately passed into Asia with his fleet, and soon distinguished himself by his vigorous operations; for he defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and brought over several cities.

By these losses Artaxerxes understood what was his best method of making war. He therefore sent Hermocrates, the Rhodian, into Greece, with a great quantity of gold, having instructed him to corrupt with it the leading men amongst the states, and to stir up a Grecian war against Lacedæmon.

Hermocrates acquitted himself so well in his commission that the most considerable cities leagued against Sparta, and there were such commotions in Peloponnesus that the magistrates were forced to recall Agesilaus from Asia. On leaving that country he is reported to have said to his friends, "The king drives me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers." For the Persian money bore the impression of an archer.

Artaxerxes deprived the Lacedæmonians of the dominion of the sea, by means of Conon, the Athenian, who acted in conjunction with Pharnabazus. For Conon, after he had lost the sea-fight at Ægos Potamos, took up his abode in Cyprus; not merely to provide for his own safety, but to wait for change of affairs, as mariners wait

he being cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room, and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into Greece.

for the turn of the tide. As he saw that his own plan wanted a respectable power to carry it into execution, and that the Persian power required a person of ability to conduct it, he wrote the king an account of the measures he had concerted. The messenger was ordered to get the letter delivered into his hands by Zeno the Cretan, who danced in the revels, or by Polycritus the Mendæan, who was his physician; and in case of their absence, by Ctesias, another physician. The letter, we are told, was given to Ctesias, and he added to it this paragraph, "I desire you, Sir, to send Ctesias to me, for he will be very serviceable in the business of the navy." But Ctesias affirms, that the king, without any kind of solicitation, put him upon this service.

After Artaxerxes had gained, by Conon and Pharnabazus, the battle off Cnidus, which stripped the Lacedæmonians of the empire of the sea, he drew almost all Greece into his interest, insomuch that the celebrated peace, called the Peace of Antalcidas, was entirely of his modelling. Antalcidas was a Spartan, the son of Leon, and so strongly attached to the king that he prevailed with the Lacedæmonians to give up to him all the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands which are reckoned amongst its dependencies, to be held as his tributaries, in virtue of the peace, if we can call that a peace by which Greece was dishonoured and betrayed; which was indeed so vile a bargain that the most unsuccessful war could have terminated in nothing more inglorious.

Hence it was that Artaxerxes, though according to Dinon's account, he always detested the other Spartans as the most impudent of men, yet expressed a great regard for Antalcidas, when he came to his court. One evening he took a chaplet of flowers from his head, dipped it in the richest essences, and sent it from his table to Antalcidas. All the court were astonished at such a mark of favour; but there seems to have been a propriety in making so ridiculous a compliment;* and he was

* It was a compliment entirely out of character to a Lacedæmonian, who, as such, was supposed to value himself upon the simplicity of his manners, and on avoiding all approaches to luxury

a fit man to wear such a crown, who could take off Leonidas and Calli-craticides in a dance before the Persians.

Somebody happening to say in the hearing of Agesilaus, "Alas for Greece! when the Lacedæmonians are turning Persians," he corrected him and said, "No, the Medes are rather turning Lacedæmonians." But the wit of the expression did not remove the disgrace of the thing. They lost their superiority in Greece by the ill fought battle of Leuctra, as they had lost their honour by the vile conditions of this peace.

So long as Sparta kept the lead, the king admitted Antalcidas to the privileges of hospitality, and called him his friend. But when, upon their defeat at Leuctra, the Spartan sent Agesilaus into Egypt, to get a supply of money, and Antalcidas went upon the same business to the Persian court, Artaxerxes treated him with so much neglect and contempt, that between the ridicule he suffered from his enemies, and his fear of resentment of the ephori, he resolved on his return to starve himself to death. Ismenias the Theban, and Pelopidas, who had lately won the battle of Leuctra, went also to the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas submitted to nothing unworthy of his country or character; but Ismenias being commanded to adore the king, purposely let his ring fall from his finger, and then, by stooping to take it up, appeared in a posture of adoration. Timagoras the Athenian, having given the king some secret intelligence in a letter which he sent by a secretary named Beluris, he was so much pleased, that he made him a present of ten thousand darics. The same Timagoras wanted a supply of cow's milk, on account of a languishing disorder, and Artaxerxes ordered eighty cows for his use, which were to follow him wherever he went. He likewise sent him a bed with the necessary coverlets, and Persian servants to make it, because he thought the Greeks not skilled in that art; and he ordered him to be carried to the seaside in a litter on account of his indisposition. To this we may add the allowance for his table while he was at court, which was so magnificent that Ostanes, the king's brother, one day said to him, "Tima-

goras, remember this table, for it is not so sumptuous for nothing." This was rather reproaching him with his treason than calling for his acknowledgments; and, indeed, Timagoras, on his return, was capitally condemned by the Athenians for taking bribes.

Artaxerxes, in some measure, atoned for the causes of sorrow he gave the Greeks, by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure; he put Tissaphernes, their most implacable enemy, to death. This he did partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him; for he did not long retain his anger, but was reconciled to his mother, and sent for her to court; because he saw she had understanding and spirit enough to assist in governing the kingdom, and there now remained no farther cause of suspicions and uneasiness between them. From this time she made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not to oppose any of his inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived that he had a strong passion for one of his own daughters, named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public; though, according to some authors, he had already a private commerce with the princess. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her granddaughter more than ever; and was continually praising to Artaxerxes both her beauty and her behaviour, in which she assured him there was something great and worthy of a crown. At last, she persuaded him to make her his wife, without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: "God," said she, "has made you a law to the Persians, and a rule of right and wrong." Some historians, amongst whom is Heraclides of Cumæ, affirm, that Artaxerxes married not only Atossa, but another of his daughters, named Amestris, of whom we shall speak by and by. His affection for Atossa was so strong, that though she had a leprosy, which spread itself over her body, he was not disgusted at it, but he was daily imploring Juno for her, and grasping the dust of her temple; for he paid his homage to no other god. At the same time, by his

order, his great officers sent so many offerings to her shrine that the whole space between the palace and the temple, which was sixteen furlongs, was filled with gold, silver, purple, and fine horses.

He sent Pharnabazus and Iphicrates to make war upon the Egyptians; but the expedition miscarried through the difference which happened between the generals he employed. After this he went in person against the Cadusians, with three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Their country is rough and uneven, and covered with perpetual fogs. As it produces no corn or fruits by cultivation, the inhabitants are a fierce and warlike race of men, live upon wild pears, apples, and other things of that kind. He, therefore, insensibly, fell into great danger and distress; for his troops could find no provision there, nor could they be supplied from any other place. They were forced to kill their beasts of burden and eat them; and those became so scarce that an ass's head was sold for sixty drachmas. The king's table itself was ill supplied, and there remained only a few horses, all the rest having been used for food.

In this extremity, Tiribazus, who often was in high favour on account of his valour, and often degraded for his levity, and who at this very time was in the greatest disgrace, saved the king and his whole army by the following stratagem. The Cadusians having two kings, each had his separate camp. Upon this Tiribazus formed his scheme, and, after he had communicated it to Artaxerxes, went himself to one of those princes, and sent his son to the other. Each imposed upon the king he applied to, by pretending that the other was going to send a private embassy to Artaxerxes, to negotiate a separate alliance; "But if you are wise," said they, "you will be beforehand with your rival, and we will assist you in the whole affair." This argument had its effect; and each, persuaded that the other was undermining him out of envy, sent his ambassadors; the one with Tiribazus, and the other with his son. As some time passed before they returned, Artaxerxes began to suspect, and there were those who suggested that Tiribazus had some traitorous de-

sign. The king was extremely dejected, and repenting of the confidence he had reposed in him, gave ear to all the calumnies of his enemies; but at last Tiribazus arrived, as did also his son, with the Cadusian ambassadors, and peace was made with both parties; in consequence of which Tiribazus returned with the king in greater esteem and authority than ever. During this expedition Artaxerxes showed that timidity and effeminacy ought not to be ascribed, as they generally are, to the pomp and luxuries of life, but to a native meanness and a depraved judgment, for neither the gold, the purple, nor the jewels, which the king always wore, and which were worth no less than twelve thousand talents, hindered him from bearing the same fatigues and hardships with the meanest soldier in his army. He took his quiver on his back and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horse, would often march foremost up the most craggy and difficult places; insomuch that others found their task much lighter, when they saw the strength and alacrity with which he proceeded; for he marched above two hundred furlongs a day.

At last he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks of great extent and beauty, though the country around it was naked and barren. As the weather was exceedingly cold, he permitted his men to cut wood out of his own parks, without sparing either pine or cypress; and when the soldiers were loath to touch trees of such size and beauty, he took an axe in his own hand, and laid it to the finest tree amongst them. After which they cut them down without scruple, and having made a number of fires, passed the night with great satisfaction.

He found, however, on his arrival at his capital, that he had lost many brave men, and almost all his horses; and, imagining that he was despised for his losses, and the ill success of the expedition, he became suspicious of his grandees. Many of them he put to death in anger, and more out of fear. Fear is the most sanguinary principle a tyrant can act from; courage, on the contrary, is merciful, mild, and unsuspecting. Thus the most timorous animals are the hardest to be tamed; but

the more generous, having less suspicion, because they have less fear, fly not the caresses and society of men.

Artaxerxes being now far advanced in years, observed his sons making parties for the crown amongst his friends and the rest of the nobility. The more equitable part were for his leaving it to his eldest son Darius, as he had received it from his father in the same right. But his younger son Ochus, who was an active man, and of a violent spirit, had also a considerable interest among the grandees. Besides, he hoped to gain his father through Atossa; for he paid his court to her, and promised to make her the partner of his throne upon the death of Artaxerxes. Nay, it was said that he had already private familiarities with her. Artaxerxes, though he was ignorant of this circumstance, resolved to cut off the hopes of Ochus at once; lest, following the daring steps of his uncle Cyrus, he should involve the kingdom again in civil wars. He therefore declared Darius his successor, who was now twenty-five* years old, and permitted him to wear the point of his turban† erect, as a mark of royalty.

As it is customary in Persia for the heir to ask a favour of him that declared him such, which, if possible, is always granted, Darius asked for Aspasia, who had been the favourite mistress of Cyrus, and was now one of the king's concubines. She was a native of Phoea, in Ionia, and her parents, who were above the condition of slaves, had given her a good education. One evening she was introduced to Cyrus at supper with the other women. They approached him without scruple, and received his jokes and caresses with pleasure; but Aspasia stood by in silence; and when Cyrus called her, she refused to go. Perceiving that the chamberlains were about to compel her, she said, "Whoever lays hands upon me, shall repent it." Upon which the company looked upon her as an unpolished creature; but Cyrus was pleased, and said, with a smile, to the person who brought the women, "Do not you see, that of all you have provided, this only has generous and vir-

tuous sentiments!" From this moment he attached himself to her, loved her most of all his concubines, and called her Aspasia *the wise*. When Cyrus fell in battle, she was taken amongst the plunder of his camp.

Artaxerxes was much concerned at his son's request; for the barbarians are so extremely jealous of their women, that capital punishment is inflicted, not only on the man who speaks to, or touches one of the king's concubines, but on him who approaches or passes their chariots on the road. And though, in compliance with the dictates of his passion, he had made Atossa his wife contrary to law, he kept three hundred and sixty concubines, all women of the greatest beauty. However, when Darius demanded Aspasia, he declared her free, and said, "She might go with him if she pleased; but he would do no violence to her inclinations." Accordingly, Aspasia was sent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, made choice of Darius. He gave her up to him, indeed, because he was obliged to it by the law; but he soon took her away, and made her a priestess of Diana of Ecbatana, whom they call *Anitis*,‡ that she might pass the remainder of her life in chastity. This he thought no severe revenge upon his son, but a pleasant way of chastising his presumption. But Darius highly resented the affront; whether it was that the charms of Aspasia had made a deep impression upon him, or whether he thought himself insulted and ridiculed by this proceeding.

Tiribazus seeing how much he was offended, endeavoured to exasperate him still more. This he did from a fellow feeling; for he had suffered an injury much of the same kind. The king, having several daughters, promised to give Apama to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Amestris to Tiribazus. He kept his word with the two first, but deceived Tiribazus; for, instead of giving Amestris to him, he married her himself; promising at the same time that he should have his youngest daughter Atossa. But he be-

‡ Pausanias says, there was a temple of Diana *Anaitis* in Lydia. But Justin tells us, that Artaxerxes made Aspasia one of the priestesses of the sun.

* In the printed text it is *fifty*.

† *Citaris*.

came enamoured of her too, and married her, as we have already mentioned. This treatment extremely incensed Tiribazus, who had, indeed, nothing steady in his disposition; but was wild and irregular. One while successful, and upon a footing with the greatest men in the court, another while unacceptable to the king, and sinking into disgrace, he bore no change of fortune with propriety. If he was in favour, his vanity was insupportable; if in disgrace, instead of being humble and quiet, he had recourse to violence and ferocity.

His conversing with the young prince was, therefore, adding flame to fire. "What avails it," said he, "to have the point of your turban advanced, if you seek not to advance your authority? Nothing can be more absurd than your thinking yourself secure of the succession, while your brother is privately forwarding his interest by means of the women, and your father is so very foolish and unsteady. He who could break one of the most sacred laws of the Persians, for the sake of an insignificant Grecian woman, is certainly not to be depended upon in more important engagements. The case is quite different between you and Ochus, as to the event of the competition: if Ochus does not obtain the crown, none will hinder him from living happily in a private station; but you, who have been declared king, must either reign or die." On this occasion was verified that observation of Sophocles:

— Swift in its march —
Is evil council. —

The road which leads us to what we desire is indeed smooth, and of an easy descent; and the desires of most men are vicious, because they have never known or tried the enjoyments of virtue. The lustre of such an imperial crown, and Darius's fear of his brother, furnished Tiribazus with other arguments; but the goddess of beauty contributed her share towards persuading him, by putting him in mind of the loss of Aspasia.

He gave himself up, therefore, entirely to Tiribazus, and many others soon entered into the conspiracy. But before it could be carried into execution, an eunuch gave the king informa-

tion of it, and of all the measures that were taken; for he had got perfect intelligence that they designed to enter his chamber in the night, and kill him in his bed.

Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence either to slight the information, and lay himself open to such danger, or to credit it without farther proof. The method he took was this: he ordered the eunuch to join Darius and his adherents, and assist at all their councils; and in the meantime broke a door through the wall behind his bed, which he concealed with the tapestry. When the time came, which the eunuch informed him of, he placed himself upon his bed, and remained there till he had a sight of the faces of the conspirators, and could perfectly distinguish each of them. But when he saw them draw their swords, and advance towards him, he pulled back the tapestry, retreated into the inner room, and, after he had bolted the door, alarmed the palace. The assassins seeing themselves discovered, and their designs disappointed, immediately took to flight, and desired Tiribazus to do the same, because he must certainly have been observed. While he lingered, the guards came and laid hold of him; but he killed many of them, and it was with difficulty that he was despatched at last by a javelin thrown at a distance.

Darius was taken, together with his children, and brought to answer for his crime before the judges which the king appointed. The king did not think proper to assist at the trial in person, but directed others to lay the charge against his son, and his notaries were to take down separately the opinion of each judge. As they all gave it unanimously for death, the officers took Darius, and led him into an adjacent prison. But when the executioner came, with the instrument in his hand which is used in beheading the capital convicts, he was seized with horror at the sight of Darius, and drew back towards the door, as having neither ability nor courage to lay violent hands upon his king. But the judges, who stood at the door, urging him to do his office, with menaces of instant punishment if he did not comply, he returned, and seizing Darius by the hair, threw

him on the ground, and cut off his head. Some say the cause was tried in presence of the king, and that Darius, after he was convicted by indubitable proofs, fell on his face and begged for mercy; but Artaxerxes, rising in great anger, drew his scimitar, and pursued his stroke till he laid him dead at his feet. They add, that after this he returned to his palace, and having paid his devotions to the sun, said to those who assisted at the ceremony, "My Persians, you may now return in triumph, and tell your fellow-subjects, that the great Oromazes* has taken vengeance on those who formed the most impious and execrable designs against their sovereign." Such was the end of the conspiracy.

Ochus now entertained very agreeable hopes, and was encouraged besides by Atossa. But he had still some fear of his remaining legitimate brother, Ariaspes, and of his natural brother Arsames. Not that Ochus had so much to apprehend from Ariaspes, merely because he was older, but the Persians were desirous of having him succeed to the throne on account of his mildness, his sincerity, and his humane disposition. As for Arsames, he had the character of a wise prince, and was the particular favourite of his father. This was no secret to Ochus. However, he planned the destruction of both these brothers of his; and being of an artful, as well as sanguinary turn, he employed his cruelty against Arsames, and his art against Ariaspes. To the latter he privately sent some of the

king's eunuchs and friends with frequent accounts of severe and menacing expressions of his father's, as if he had resolved to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. As these persons came daily to tell him in confidence, that some of these threats were upon the point of being put in execution, and the others would not be long delayed, he was so terrified, and fell into such a melancholy and desponding way, that he prepared a poisonous draught, and drank it, to deliver himself from the burden of life.

The king being informed of the manner of his death, sincerely lamented him, and had some suspicion of the cause, but could not examine into it thoroughly on account of his great age.

However, Arsames now became dearer to him than ever; and it was easy to see that the king placed an entire confidence in him, and communicated to him his most secret thoughts. Ochus, therefore, would not defer his enterprise longer, but employed Harpates, the son of Tiribazus, to kill Arsames. Artaxerxes, whom time had brought to the very verge of life, when he had this additional stroke in the fate of Arsames, could not make much more struggle; his sorrow and regret soon brought him to the grave. He lived ninety-four years, and reigned sixty-two.† He had the character of a prince who governed with lenity; and loved his people. But perhaps the behaviour of his successor might contribute not a little to his reputation; for Ochus was the most cruel and sanguinary of princes.

* The Persians worshipped *Oromazes* as the author of Good, and *Arimanius* as the author of Evil.

† Diodorus Siculus says, that he reigned only forty-three years.



ARATUS.

THE philosopher Chrysippus, my dear Polycrates, seems to have thought the ancient proverb not quite justifiable, and therefore he delivered it, not as it really is, but what he thought it should be—

Who but a happy son will praise his sire ?

Dionysidorus the Træzenian, however, corrects him, and gives it right,

Who but unhappy sons will praise their sires ?

He says, the proverb was made to silence those who, having no merit of their own, dress themselves up in the virtues of their ancestors, and are lavish in their praises. And those *in whom the virtues of their sires shine in congenial beauty*, to make use of Pindar's expression; who, like you, form their conduct after the brightest patterns in their families, may think it a great happiness to remember the most excellent of their ancestors, and often to hear or speak of them; for they assume not the honour of other men's virtues for want of merit in their own, but uniting their great actions to those of their progenitors, they praise them as the authors of their descent, and the models of their lives. For which reason, when I have written the life of Aratus, your countryman, and one of your ancestors, I shall send it to you, who reflect no dishonour upon him either in point of reputation or power. Not that I doubt your having informed yourself

of his actions from the first with all possible care and exactness; but I do it, that your sons, Polycrates and Pythocles, may form themselves upon the great exemplars, in their own family, sometimes hearing and sometimes reading what it becomes them well to imitate; for it is the self admirer, not the admirer of virtue, that thinks himself superior to others.

After the harmony of the pure Doric,* I mean the aristocracy, was broken in Sicyon, and seditions took place through the ambition of the demagogues, the city continued a long time in a distempered state. It only changed one tyrant for another, till Cleon was slain, and the administration committed to Timoclidas and Clinias, persons of the greatest reputation and authority amongst the citizens. The commonwealth seemed to be in some degree re-established when Timoclidas died. Abantidas, the son of Paeas, taking that opportunity to set himself up tyrant, killed Clinias, and either banished or put to death his friends and relations. He sought also for his son Aratus, who was only seven years old, with a design to despatch him; but, in the confusion that was in his father's house when his father was slain, the boy escaped among those that fled, and wandered about the city

* There was a gravity, but, at the same time, great perfection in the Dorian music.

in fear and destitute of help, till he happened to enter, unobserved, the house of a woman named Soso, who was sister to Abantidas, and had been married to Prophantus, the brother of Clinias. As she was a person of generous sentiments, and persuaded besides that it was by the direction of some deity that the child had taken refuge with her, she concealed him in one of her apartments till night, and then sent him privately to Argos.

Aratus, having thus escaped so imminent a danger, immediately conceived a violent and implacable hatred for tyrants, which increased as he grew up. He was educated by the friends of his family at Argos, and in a liberal manner; and as he was vigorous and robust, he took to gymnastic exercises, and succeeded so well as to gain the prize in the five several sorts.* Indeed, in his statues there is an athletic look; and amidst the strong sense and majesty expressed in his countenance, we may discover something inconsistent with the voracity and mattock of the wrestlers.† Hence, perhaps, it was that he cultivated his powers of eloquence less than became a statesman. He might, indeed, be a better speaker than some suppose; and there are those who judge, from his Commentaries, that he certainly was so, though they were hastily written, and attempted nothing beyond common language.

Some time after the escape of Aratus, Dinias and Aristotle, the logician, formed a design against Abantidas, and they easily found an opportunity to kill him, when he attended and sometimes joined in their disputations in the public halls, which they had insensibly drawn him into for that very purpose. Paseas, the father of Abantidas, then seized the supreme power, but he was assassinated by Nicocles, who took his place and was the next tyrant. We are told that there was a perfect likeness between this Nicocles and Periander, the son of Cypselus; as Orontes the Per-

sian resembled Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraus, and a Lacedæmonian youth the great Hector. Myrtilas informs us, that the young man was crowded to death by the multitudes who came to see him, when that resemblance was known.

Nicocles reigned four months, during which time he did a thousand injuries to the people, and was near losing the city to the Ætolians, who formed a scheme to surprise it. Aratus was by this time approaching to manhood, and great attention was paid him on account of his high birth and his spirit, in which there was nothing little or unenterprising, and yet it was under the correction of a gravity and solidity of judgment much beyond his years. The exiles, therefore, considered him as their principal resource, and Nicocles was not regardless of his motions, but by his private agents observed the measures he was taking. Not that he expected he would embark in so bold and dangerous an enterprise as he did, but he suspected his applications to the princes who were the friends of his father. Indeed Aratus began in that channel; but when he found that Antigonus, notwithstanding his promises, put him off from time to time, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too remote, he resolved to destroy the tyrant without any foreign assistance.

The first persons to whom he communicated his intentions were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Aristomachus was an exile from Sicily, and Ecdelus an Arcadian banished from Megalopolis. The latter was a philosopher, who in speculation never lost sight of practice, for he had studied at Athens under Arcesilaus the academician.‡ As these readily accepted his proposal, he applied to the other exiles; a few of whom joined him, because they were ashamed to give up so promising a hope; but the greatest part believed it was only Aratus's inexperience§ that made him think of so bold an attempt, and endeavoured to prevent his proceeding.

While he was considering how to

* The five exercises of the *Pentathlon* (as we have already observed) were running, leaping, throwing the dart, boxing, and wrestling.

† They used to break up the ground with the mattock, by way of exercise, to improve their strength.

‡ Arcesilaus was the disciple of Crantor, and had established the middle academy.

§ He was not yet twenty years old.

seize some post in the territories of Sicyon, from whence he might prosecute hostilities against the tyrant, a man of Sicyon arrived at Argos, who had escaped out of prison. He was brother to Xenocles, one of the exiles, and being introduced by him to Aratus, he informed him, that the part of the wall which he had got over, was almost level with the ground on the inside, as it joined upon a high rocky part of the city, and that on the outside it was not so high but that it might be scaled. Upon this intelligence, Aratus sent two of his servants, Scouthas and Technon, along with Xenocles, to reconnoitre the wall; for he was resolved, if he could do it secretly, to hazard all upon one great effort, rather than lengthen out the war, and publicly engage with a tyrant, when he had no resources but those of a private man.

Xenocles and his companions, after they had taken the height of the wall, reported, at their return, that it was neither impracticable nor difficult, but that it was dangerous to attempt it on account of some dogs kept by a gardener, which were little indeed, but at the same time extremely fierce and furious. Aratus, however, immediately set about the work. It was easy to provide arms without suspicion; for almost every body went armed, by reason of the frequent robberies and the incursions of one people into the territories of another. And as to the scaling ladders, Euphranor, who was one of the exiles, and a carpenter by trade, made them publicly; his business screening him from suspicion. Each of his friends in Argos, who had no great number of men that he could command, furnished him with ten; he armed thirty of his own servants, and hired some few soldiers of Xenophilus, who was chief captain of a band of robbers. To the latter it was given out that the design of their march to Sicyon was to carry off the king's stud, and several of them were sent before by different ways to the town of Polygnotus, with orders to wait for him there. Caphesias was likewise sent with four others in a travelling dress. These were to go in the evening to the gardener's, and pretending to be travellers, get a lodging there; after which, they were to confine both him and his dogs; for

that part of the wall was not accessible any other way. The ladders being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn chests, and sent before in wagons prepared for that purpose.

In the meantime some of the tyrant's spies arrived at Argos, and it was reported that they were skulking about to watch the motions of Aratus. Next morning, therefore, Aratus appeared early with his friends in the market place, and talked with them for some time. He then went to the Gymnasium, and after he had anointed himself, took with him some young men from the wrestling ring who used to be of his parties of pleasure, and returned home. In a little time his servants were seen in the market place, some carrying chaplets of flowers, some buying flambeaux, and some in discourse with the women who used to sing and play at entertainments. These manœuvres deceived the spies. They laughed and said to each other, "Certainly nothing can be more dastardly than a tyrant, since Nicocles, who is master of so strong a city, and armed with so much power, lives in fear of a young man, who wastes the pittance he has to subsist on in exile, in drinking and revelling even in the day time."—After these false reasonings they retired.

Aratus, immediately after he had made his meal, set out for the tower of Polygnotus, and when he had joined the soldiers there, proceeded to Nemea, where he disclosed his real intentions to his whole company. Having exhorted them to behave like brave men, and promised them great rewards, he gave *propitious Apollo* for the word, and then led them forwards towards Sicyon, governing his march according to the motion of the moon, sometimes quickening and sometimes slackening his pace, so as to have the benefit of her light by the way, and to come to the garden by the wall just after she was set. There Caphesias met him, and informed him that the dogs were let out before he arrived, but that he had secured the gardener. Most of the company were greatly dispirited at this account, and desired Aratus to quit his enterprise; but he encouraged them by promising to desist if the dogs should prove very troublesome. Then he ordered those who carried the lad

ders to march before, under the conduct of Ecdelus and Mnasiheus, and himself followed softly. The dogs now began to run about and bark violently at Ecdelus and his men; nevertheless they approached the wall, and planted their ladders safe. But as the foremost of them were mounting, the officer who was to be relieved by the morning guard passed by that way at the sound of a bell, with many torches and much noise. Upon this, the men laid themselves close to their ladders, and escaped the notice of this watch without much difficulty; but when the other which was to relieve it came up they were in the utmost danger. However, that too passed by without observing them; after which, Mnasiheus and Ecdelus mounted the wall first, and having secured the way both to the right and left, they sent Technon to Aratus to desire him to advance as fast as possible.

It was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to a tower in which was placed a great hunting dog to alarm the guard; but whether he was naturally drowsy, or had wearied himself the day before, he did not perceive their entrance. But the gardener's dogs awaking him by barking below, he began to growl; and when Aratus's men passed by the tower, he barked out, so that the whole place resounded with the noise. Then the sentinel, who kept watch opposite to the tower, called aloud to the huntsman, and asked him, "Whom the dog barked at so angrily, or whether anything new had happened?" The huntsman answered from the tower, "That there was nothing extraordinary, and that the dog was only disturbed at the torches of the guards and the noise of the bell." This encouraged Aratus's soldiers more than anything; for they imagined that the huntsman concealed the truth because he had a secret understanding with their leader, and that there were many others in the town who would promote the design; but when the rest of their companions came to scale the wall, the danger increased. It appeared to be a long affair because the ladders shook and swung extremely if they did not mount them softly and one by one; and the time pressed for the cocks began to crow; the country people too, who kept the mar-

ket were expected to arrive every moment. Aratus, therefore, hastened up himself when only forty of his company were upon the wall; and when a few more had joined him from below, he put himself at the head of his men, and marched immediately to the tyrant's palace, where the mainguard was kept, and where the mercenaries passed the night under arms. Coming suddenly upon them, he took them prisoners without killing one man; and then sent to his friends in the town to invite them to come and join him. They ran to him from all quarters, and day now appearing, the theatre was filled with a crowd of people who stood in suspense; for they had only heard a rumour, and had no certainty of what was doing, till a herald came and proclaimed it in these words, "Aratus the son of Clinias calls the citizens to liberty."

Then, persuaded that the day they had long expected was come, they rushed in multitudes to the palace of the tyrant, and set fire to it. The flame was so strong that it was seen as far as Corinth, and the Corinthians wondering what might be the cause, were upon the point of going to their assistance. Nicocles escaped out of the city by some subterranean conduits; and the soldiers having helped the Sicyonians to extinguish the fire, plundered his palace. Nor did Aratus hinder them from taking this booty; but the rest of the wealth which the several tyrants had amassed, he bestowed upon the citizens.

There was not so much as one man killed or wounded in this action, either of Aratus's party or of the enemy; fortune so conducting the enterprise as not to sully it with the blood of one citizen. Aratus recalled eighty persons who had been banished by Nicocles, and of those that had been expelled by the former tyrants not less than five hundred. The latter had long been forced to wander from place to place, some of them full fifty years; consequently most of them returned in a destitute condition. They were now, indeed, restored to their ancient possessions; but their going into houses and lands which had found new masters, laid Aratus under great difficulties. Without, he saw Antigonus envying the

liberty which the city had recovered, and laying schemes to enslave it again, and within he found nothing but faction and disorder. He therefore judged it best in this critical situation to join it to the Achæan league. As the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they had no objection to being called a part of the Achæan community, or to their form of government.* It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the Achæans at that time were no very great or powerful people. Their towns were generally small, their lands neither extensive nor fertile; and they had no harbours on their coasts, the sea for the most part entering the land in rocky and impracticable creeks. Yet none gave a better proof than this people, that the power of Greece is invincible, while good order and harmony prevail amongst her members, and she has an able general to lead her armies. In fact, these very

Achæans, though but *inconsiderable* in comparison of the Greeks in their flourishing times, or, to speak more properly, not equalling in their whole community the strength of one respectable city in the period we are upon, yet by good counsels and unanimity, and by hearkening to any man of superior virtue, instead of envying his merit, not only kept themselves free amidst so many powerful states and tyrants, but saved great part of Greece, or rescued it from chains.

As to his character, Aratus had something very popular in his behaviour: he had a native greatness of mind, and was more attentive to the public interest than to his own. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants; but with respect to others, he made the good of his country the sole rule of his friendship or opposition. So that he seems rather to have been a mild and moderate enemy than a zealous friend; his regards or aversions to particular men varying as the occasions of the commonwealth dictated. In short, nations and great communities with one voice re-echoed the declaration of the assemblies and theatres, that Aratus loved none but good men. With regard to open wars and pitched battles, he was indeed diffident and timorous; but in gaining a point by stratagem, in surprising cities and tyrants, there could not be an abler man.

To this cause we must assign it, that, after he had exerted great courage, and succeeded in enterprises that were looked upon as desperate, through too much fear and caution he gave up others that were more practicable, and not of less importance; for, as amongst animals there are some that can see very clearly in the night, and yet are next to blind in the daytime, the dryness of the eye, and the subtilty of its humours, not suffering them to bear the light; so there is in man a kind of courage and understanding, which is easily disconcerted in open dangers and encounters, and yet resumes a happy boldness in secret enterprises. The reason of this inequality in men of parts otherwise excellent, is their wanting the advantages of philosophy. Virtue is in them the product of nature, unassisted by science, like the fruits of the forest, which come without the least

* The Dutch republic much resembles it. The Achæans, indeed, at first had two *Prætors* whose office it was both to preside in the diet, and to command in the army; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one. There is this difference, too, between the Dutch Stadtholder and the Achæan *Prætor*, that the latter did not continue two years successively in his employment. But in other respects there is a striking similarity between the states of Holland and those of the Achæan league; and if the Achæans could have become a maritime power like the Dutch, their power would probably have been much more extensive and lasting than it was.

All the cities subject to the Achæan league were governed by the great council, or general assembly of the whole nation, which was assembled twice a year, in the spring and autumn. To this assembly, or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to send a number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, and, in short, provided for all the principal occasions of the commonwealth.

Beside the *Prætor*, they had ten great officers called *Demiurgi*, chosen by the general assembly out of the most eminent and experienced persons amongst the states. It was their office to assist the *prætor* with their advice. He was to propose nothing to the general assembly but what had been previously approved by their body, and in his absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them.

cultivation * Of this there are many examples to be found.

After Aratus had engaged himself and his city in the Achæan league, he served in the cavalry, and the generals highly esteemed him for his ready obedience; for though he had contributed so much to the common cause by his name and by the forces of Sicyon, yet the Achæan commander, whether of Dima, or Tritta, or some more inconsiderable town, found him always as tractable as the meanest soldier.

When the king of Egypt made him a present of twenty-five talents, he received it indeed, but laid out the whole upon his fellow-citizens; relieving the necessitous with part of it, and ransoming such as were prisoners with the rest.

But the exiles whom Aratus had recalled would not be satisfied with any thing less than the restitution of their estates, and gave the present possessors so much trouble, that the city was in danger of being ruined by sedition. In this extremity he saw no resource except in the generosity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to take a voyage to Egypt, and apply to him for as much money as would reconcile all parties. Accordingly he set sail for Methone above the promontory of Malea, in hopes of taking the shortest passage. But a contrary wind sprang up, and the seas ran so high that the pilot, unable to bear up against them, changed his course, and with much difficulty got into Adria, † a town which was in the enemy's hands; for Antigonus had a garrison there. To avoid this imminent danger he landed, and, with only one friend named Timanthes, making his way as far as possible from the sea, sought for shelter in a place well covered with wood, in which he and his companion spent a very disagreeable night. Soon after he had

left the ship, the governor of the fort came and inquired for him; but he was deceived by Aratus's servants, who were instructed to say he had made off in another vessel to Eubœa. However, he detained the ship and servants as lawful prize. Aratus spent some days in this distressful situation, where one while he looked out to reconnoitre the coast, and another while he kept himself concealed; but at last by good fortune a Roman ship happened to put in near the place of his retreat. The ship was bound for Syria, and Aratus prevailed upon the master to land him in Caria. But he had equal dangers to combat at sea in this as in his former passages. And when he was in Caria, he had a voyage to take to Egypt, which he found a very long one. Upon his arrival, however, he was immediately admitted to audience by the king, who had long been inclined to serve him on account of the paintings which he used to compliment him with from Greece: for Aratus, who had a taste for these things, was always collecting for him the pieces of the best masters, particularly those of Pamphilus and Melanthus; ‡ for Sicyon was formed for the cultivation of the arts, particularly the art of painting; and it was believed that there only the ancient elegance was preserved without the least corruption. Hence it was, that the great Apelles, at a time when he was much admired, went to Sicyon, and gave the painters a talent, not so much for any improvement he expected, as for the reputation of having been of their school. In consequence of which, Aratus, when he restored Sicyon to liberty, and destroyed the portraits of the tyrants, hesitated a long time on coming to that of Aristratus; for it was the united work of the disciples of Melanthus, who had represented him standing in a chariot of victory, and the pencil of Apelles had contributed

* This character of Aratus is perfectly agreeable to what Polybius has given us in his fourth book. Two great masters will draw with equal excellence, though their manner must be different.

† Palmerius conjectures that we should read *Andria*, which he supposes to be a town in the island of *Andros*. He confirms it with this argument, that Aratus is said to have passed from hence to Eubœa, which is opposite to that island.

‡ Two of the most celebrated painters of all antiquity. Pamphilus had been brought up under Eupompus, and was the master of Apelles and Melanthus. The capital pieces of Pamphilus were, *a Brotherhood*, *a Battle*, *the Victory of the Athenians*, and *Ulysses in his vessel taking leave of Calypso*. Pliny tells us, that the whole wealth of a city could scarce purchase one of the pieces of Melanthus.

ARATUS.

to the performance, as we are informed by Polemo the geographer.

The piece was so admirable, that Aratus could not avoid feeling the art that was displayed in it; but his hatred of tyrants soon overruled that feeling, and he ordered it to be defaced. Nealcēs the painter,* who was honoured with his friendship, is said to have implored him with tears to spare that piece; and when he found him inflexible, said, "Aratus, continue your war with tyrants, but not with every thing that belongs to them. Spare at least the chariot and the victory, and I shall soon make Aristratus vanish." Aratus gave his consent, and Nealcēs defaced the figure of Aristratus, but did not venture to put anything in its place except a palm-tree. We are told, however, that there was still a dim appearance of the feet of Aristratus at the bottom of the chariot.

This taste for painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy, and his conversation gained so much farther upon him, that he made him a present of a hundred and fifty talents for the city; forty of which he sent with him on his return to Peloponnesus, and he remitted the rest in the several portions and at the times that he had fixed. It was a glorious thing to apply so much money to the use of his fellow-citizens, at a time when it was common to see generals and demagogues, for much smaller sums which they received of the kings, to oppress, enslave, and betray to them the cities where they were born. But it was still more glorious, by this money to reconcile the poor to the rich, to secure the commonwealth, and establish harmony amongst all ranks of people.

His moderation in the exercise of the great power he was vested with was truly admirable; for, being appointed sole arbitrator of the claims of the exiles, he refused to act alone, and joined fifteen of the citizens in the commission; with whose assistance, after much

labour and attention, he established peace and friendship amongst the people. Beside the honours which the whole community conferred on him for these services, the exiles in particular erected his statue in brass, and put upon it this inscription.—

Far as the pillars which Alcides rear'd,
Thy counsels and thy deeds in arms for Greece
The tongue of Fame has told. But we, Aratus,
We wanderers whom thou hast restor'd to
Sicyon,

Will sing thy justice; place thy pleasing
form,

As a benignant power with gods that save.
For thou hast given that dear equality,
And all the laws which favouring heaven
might give.

Aratus, after such important services, was placed above envy amongst his people. But king Antigonus, uneasy at the progress he made, was determined either to gain him, or to make him obnoxious to Ptolemy. He therefore gave him extraordinary marks of his regard, though he wanted no such advances. Amongst others this was one: On occasion of a sacrifice which he offered at Corinth, he sent portions of it to Aratus at Sicyon; and at the feast which ensued, he said in full assembly, "I at first looked upon this young Sicyonian only as a man of a liberal and patriotic spirit, but now I find that he is also a good judge of the characters and affairs of princes. At first he overlooked us for the sake of foreign hopes, and the admiration he had conceived from stories of the wealth, the elephants, fleets, and the splendid court of Egypt; but since he has been upon the spot, and seen that all this pomp is merely a theatrical thing, he is come over entirely to us. I have received him to my bosom, and am determined to employ him in all my affairs. I desire, therefore, you will all consider him as a friend." The envious and malevolent took occasion from this speech to lay heavy charges against Aratus in their letters to Ptolemy, insomuch that the king sent one of his agents to tax him with his infidelity. Thus, like passionate lovers, the candidates for the first favours of kings dispute them with the utmost envy and malignity.

After Aratus was first chosen general the Achaean league, he ravaged

* Nealcēs was a painter of great reputation. One of his pieces was the naval fight between the Egyptians and the Persians. As the action was upon the Nile, whose colour is like that of the sea, he distinguished it by a symbol. He drew an ass drinking on the shore, and a crocodile in the act to spring upon him.—PLIN. l. xxxv. c. ii.

Locria, which lies on the other side of the gulf of Corinth; and committed the same spoil in the territories of Calydon. It was his intention to assist the Boeotians with ten thousand men, but he came too late; they were already defeated by the Ætolians in an action near Chæronea,* in which Abœocritus their general, and a thousand of their men, were slain.

The year following,† Aratus, being elected general again, undertook that celebrated enterprise of recovering the citadel of Corinth; in which he consulted not only the benefit of Sicyon and Achaia, but of Greece in general; for such would be the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison, which was nothing better than a tyrant's yoke. As Chares, the Athenian general, upon a battle which he won of the king of Persia's lieutenants, wrote to the people that he had gained a victory which was sister to that of Marathon; so we may justly call this exploit of Aratus sister to that of Pelopidas the Theban, and Thrasybulus the Athenian, when they killed the tyrants. There is, indeed, this difference, that Aratus's enterprise was not against Greeks, but against a foreign power, which is a difference much to his honour. For the Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, joins our continent to that of Peloponnesus; and when there is a good garrison in the citadel of Corinth, which stands on a high hill in the middle, at an equal distance from the two continents, it cuts off the communication with those within the Isthmus, so that there can be no passage for troops, nor any kind of commerce, either by sea or land. In short, he that is possessed of it is master of all Greece. The younger Philip of Macedon, therefore, was not jesting, but spoke a serious truth, when he called the city of Corinth *the fetters of Greece*. Hence the place was always much contended for, particularly by kings and princes.

* We must take care to distinguish this battle of Chæronea from that great action in which Philip of Macedon beat the Thebans and Athenians, and which happened sixty-six years before Aratus was born.

† Polybius, who wrote from Aratus's Commentaries, tells us, there were eight years between Aratus's first prætorship and his second, in which he took *Acrocorinth*.

Antigonus's passion for it was not less than that of love in its greatest madness; and it was the chief object of his cares to find a method of taking it by surprise, when the hopes of succeeding by open force failed. When Alexander, who was master of the citadel, died of poison, that is said to have been given him through Antigonus's means, his wife Nicæa, into whose hands it then fell, guarded it with great care. But Antigonus, hoping to gain it by means of his son Demetrius, sent him to make her an offer of his hand. It was a flattering prospect to a woman somewhat advanced in years, to have such a young prince for her husband. Accordingly Antigonus caught her by this bait. However, she did not give up the citadel, but guarded it with the same attention as before. Antigonus pretending to take no notice, celebrated the marriage with sacrifices and shows, and spent whole days in feasting the people, as if his mind had been entirely taken up with mirth and pleasure. One day, when Amœbeus was to sing in the theatre, he conducted Nicæa in person on her way to the entertainment in a litter set out with royal ornaments. She was elated with the honour, and had not the least thought of what was to ensue. But when they came to the point which bore towards the citadel, he ordered the men that bore the litter to proceed to the theatre; and bidding farewell to Amœbeus and the wedding, he walked up to the fort much faster than could have been expected from a man of his years. Finding the gate barred, he knocked with his staff, and commanded the guard to open it. Surprised at the sight of him, they complied, and thus he became master of the place. He was not able to contain his joy on that occasion; he drank and revelled in the open streets and in the market-place, attended with female musicians, and crowned with flowers. When we see a man of his age, who had experienced such changes of fortune, carouse and indulge his transports, embracing and saluting every one he meets, we must acknowledge that unexpected joy raises greater tumults in an unbalanced mind, and oversets it sooner than either fear or sorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner made himself master of the citadel,

risoned it with men in whom he placed the greatest confidence, and made the philosopher Persæus governor. Whilst Alexander was living, Aratus had cast his eye upon it, as an excellent acquisition to his country; but the Achæans admitting Alexander into the league, he did not prosecute his design. Afterwards, however, a new occasion presented itself. There were in Corinth four brothers, natives of Syria, one of which, named Diocles, served as a soldier in the garrison. The other three having stolen some of the king's money, retired to Sicyon, where they applied to one Ægias a banker, whom Aratus used to employ. Part of this gold they immediately disposed of to him, and Erginus, one of the three, at several visits, privately changed the rest. Thus an acquaintance was formed between him and Ægias, who one day drew him into discourse about the garrison. Erginus told him, that as he often went up to visit his brother, he had observed on the steepest side a small winding path cut in the rock, and leading to a part of the wall much lower than the rest. Upon this Ægias said, with an air of railery, "Why will you, my good friend, purloin the king's treasures for so inconsiderable a sum, when you might raise yourselves to opulence by one hour's service? Do not you know that if you are taken, you will as certainly be put to death for this trifling theft, as if you had betrayed the citadel?" Erginus laughed at the hint, and promised to sound his brother Diocles upon the subject; for he could not, he said, place much confidence in the other two.

A few days after this he returned, and had an interview with Aratus, at which it was agreed that he should conduct him to a part of the wall that was not above fifteen feet high, and that both he and his brother Diocles should assist him in the rest of the enterprise. Aratus, on his part, promised to give them sixty talents, if he succeeded; and in case they failed, and yet returned all safe to Sicyon, he engaged that each of them should have a house and one talent. As it was necessary that the sixty talents should be deposited in the hands of Ægias, for the satisfaction of Erginus, and Aratus neither had such a sum, nor chose to borrow it, because

that might create some suspicion of his intentions, he took most of his plate and his wife's jewels, and pledged them with Ægias for the money. Such was the greatness of his soul, such his passion for high achievements, that knowing Phocion and Epaminondas were accounted the justest and most excellent of all the Greeks, for refusing great presents, and not sacrificing virtue to money, he ascended a step higher; he privately gave money, he embarked his estate in an enterprise, where he alone was to expose himself for the many, who were not even apprized of his intentions in their favour. Who then can sufficiently admire his magnanimity? Who is there, even in our days, that is not fired with an ambition to imitate the man who purchased so much danger at so great an expense, who pledged the most valuable of his goods for the sake of being introduced by night amongst enemies, where he was to fight for his life, without any other equivalent than the hope of performing a great action?

This undertaking, which was dangerous enough in itself, became more so by a mistake which they committed in the beginning. Technon, one of Aratus's servants, of whom we have already spoken, was sent before to Diocles, that they might reconnoitre the wall together. He had never seen Diocles, but he thought he should easily know him by the marks which Erginus had given, which were curled hair, a swarthy complexion, and want of beard. He went, therefore, to the place appointed, and sat down before the city at a point called *Ornis*, to wait for Erginus and his brother Diocles. In the meantime Dionysius their eldest brother, who knew nothing of the affair, happened to come up. He greatly resembled Diocles; and Technon, struck with his appearance, which answered the description, asked him if he had any connexion with Erginus. He said he was his brother; upon which, Technon, thoroughly persuaded that he was speaking to Diocles, without asking his name, or waiting for any token, gave him his hand, mentioned to him the circumstances of the appointment with Erginus, and asked him many questions about it. Dionysius availed himself very artfully of the mistake,

agreed to every point, and returning towards the city, held him in discourse without giving him the least cause of suspicion. They were now near the town, and he was on the point of seizing Technor, when by good fortune Erginus met them, and perceiving how much his friend was imposed upon, and the great danger he was in, beckoned to him to make his escape. Accordingly they both fled, and got safe to Aratus. However, Aratus did not give up his hopes, but immediately sent Erginus to Dionysius, to offer him money, and entreat him to be silent; in which he succeeded so well, that he brought Dionysius along with him to Aratus. When they had him in their hands, they did not think it safe to part with him; they bound and set a guard on him in a small apartment, and then prepared for their principal design.

When everything was ready, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms; and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew the business they were going about, he led them to the gates of the city near the temple of Juno. It was then about the middle of summer, the moon at the full, and the night without the least cloud. As their arms glittered with the reflection of the moon, they were afraid that circumstance would discover them to the watch. The foremost of them were now near the walls, when clouds arose from the sea, and covered the city and its environs. The men sat down and took off their shoes, that they might make the less noise, and mount the ladders without danger of slipping. But Erginus took with him seven young men in the habit of travellers, and getting unobserved to the gate, killed the keeper and the guard that were with him. At the same time the ladders were applied to the walls, and Aratus, with a hundred men, got over with the utmost expedition. The rest he commanded to follow in the best manner they could, and having immediately drawn up his ladders, he marched at the head of his party through the town towards the citadel, confident of success, because he was not discovered.

As they advanced they met four of the watch with a light, which gave Aratus a full and timely view of them,

while he and his company could not be seen by them, because the moon was still overclouded. He therefore retired under some ruined walls, and lay in ambush for them. Three out of the four were killed; but the other, after he had received a cut upon his head, ran off, crying, "That the enemy was in the city." A little after, the trumpets sounded, and the whole town was in motion on the alarm. The streets were filled with people running up and down, and so many lights were brought out, both in the lower town and in the citadel, that the whole was illuminated, and a confused noise was heard from every quarter. Aratus went on, notwithstanding, and attempted the way up the rock. He proceeded in a slow and difficult manner at first, because he had lost the path which lay deep beneath the craggy parts of the rock, and led to the wall by a great variety of windings and turnings. But at that moment the moon, as it were by miracle, is said to have dispersed the clouds, and thrown a light on the most obscure part of the path, which continued till he reached the wall at the place he wanted. Then the clouds gathered afresh, and she hid her face again.

In the meantime the three hundred men whom Aratus had left by the temple of Juno had entered the city, which they found all in an alarm, and full of lights. As they could not find the way Aratus had taken, nor trace him in the least, they screened themselves under the shady side of a high rock, and waited there in great perplexity and distress. By this time Aratus was engaged with the enemy on the ramparts of the citadel, and they could distinguish the cries of combatants; but as the noise was echoed by the neighbouring mountains, it was uncertain from whence it first came. Whilst they were in doubt what way to turn, Archelaus, who commanded the king's forces, took a considerable corps, and began to ascend the hill with loud shouts, and trumpets sounding, in order to attack Aratus's rear. He passed the party of the three hundred without perceiving them; but he was no sooner gone by than they rose as from an ambuscade, fell upon him, and killing the first they attacked, so terrified the rest, and even Archelaus himself that they

turned their backs, and were pursued till they entirely dispersed.

When the party was thus victorious, Erginus came to them from their friends above, to inform them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who defended themselves with great vigour, that the wall itself was disputed, and that their general wanted immediate assistance. They bade him lead them to the place that moment; and as they ascended, they discovered themselves by their shouts. Thus their friends were encouraged, and the reflection of the full moon upon their arms made their numbers appear greater to their enemies, on account of the length of the path. In the echoes of the night, too, the shouts seemed to come from a much larger party. At last they joined Aratus, and with an united effort beat off the enemy, and took post upon the wall. At break of day the citadel was their own, and the first rays of the sun did honour to their victory. At the same time the rest of Aratus's forces arrived from Sicyon; the Corinthians readily opened their gates to them, and assisted in taking the king's soldiers prisoners.

When he thought his victory complete, he went down from the citadel to the theatre; an innumerable multitude crowding to see him, and to hear the speech that he would make to the Corinthians. After he had disposed the Achæans on each side of the avenues to the theatre, he came from behind the scenes, and made his appearance in his armour. But he was so much changed by labour and watching, that the joy and elevation which his success might have inspired were weighed down by the extreme fatigue of his spirits. On his appearance, the people immediately began to express the high sense of his services; upon which he took his spear in his right hand, and leaning his body and one knee a little against it, remained a long time in that posture silent, to receive their plaudits and acclamations, their praises of his virtue, and compliments on his good fortune.

After their first transports were over, and he perceived that he could be heard, he summoned the strength he had left, and made a speech in the name of the Achæans suitable to the great

event, persuaded the Corinthians to join the league, and delivered to them the keys of their city, which they had not been masters of since the times of Philip. As to the generals of Antigonus, he set Archelaus, who was his prisoner, free; but he put Theophrastus to death, because he refused to leave Corinth. Persæus, on the taking of the citadel, made his escape to Cenchreæ. Some time after, when he was amusing himself with disputations in philosophy, and some person advanced this position, "None but the wise man is fit to be a general." "It is true," said he, "and the gods know it, that this maxim of Zeno's once pleased me more than all the rest; but I have changed my opinion, since I was better taught by the young Sicyonian." This circumstance concerning Persæus we have from many historians.

Aratus immediately seized the *Hæcæum*, or temple of Juno, and the harbour of Lechæum, in which he took twenty-five of the king's ships. He took also five hundred horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he sold. The Achæans put a garrison of four hundred men in the citadel of Corinth, which was strengthened with fifty dogs, and as many men to keep them.

The Romans were great admirers of Philopœmen, and called him *the last of the Greeks*; not allowing that there was any great man amongst that people after him. But, in my opinion, this exploit of Aratus is the last which the Greeks have to boast of. Indeed, whether we consider the boldness of the enterprise, or the good fortune which attended it, it equals the greatest upon record. The same appears from its immediate consequences; the Megarensians revolted from Antigonus, and joined Aratus; the Troezenians and Epidaurians, too, ranged themselves on the side of the Achæans.

In his first expedition beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, Aratus overran Attica, and passing into Salamis, ravaged that island; so that the Achæan forces thought themselves escaped, as it were, out of prison, and followed him wherever he pleased. On this occasion he set the Athenian prisoners free without ransom, by which he sowed amongst them the first seeds of defection from the Macedonians. He

brought Ptolemy likewise into the Achæan league, by procuring him the direction of the war both by sea and land. Such was his influence over the Achæans, that, as the laws did not allow him to be general two years together, they appointed him every other year; and in action, as well as counsel, he had always in effect the chief command; for they saw it was not wealth, or glory, or the friendship of kings, or the advantage of his own country, or anything else that he preferred to the promotion of the Achæan power. He thought that cities in their single capacity were weak, and that they could not provide for their defence without uniting and binding themselves together for the common good. As the members of the body cannot be nourished, or live, but by their connexion with each other, and when separated pine and decay; so cities perish when they break off from the community to which they belonged; and on the contrary, gather strength and power by becoming parts of some great body, and enjoying the fruits of the wisdom of the whole.*

Observing, therefore, that all the bravest people in his neighbourhood lived according to their own laws, it gave him pain to see the Argives in slavery, and he took measures for destroying their tyrant Aristomachus.† Besides, he was ambitious for restoring Argos to its liberty, as a reward for the education it had afforded him, and to unite to the Achæan league. Without

much difficulty he found them hardy enough to undertake the commission, at the head of whom was Æschylus and Charimenes the diviner; but they had no swords, for they were forbidden to keep arms, and the tyrant had laid great penalties on such as should be found to have any in their possession. To supply this defect, Aratus provided several daggers for them at Corinth, and having sewed them up in the pack-saddles of horses that were to carry some ordinary wares, they were by that stratagem conveyed to Argos.‡ In the meantime Charimenes, taking in another of his friends as a partner, Æschylus and his associates were so much provoked that they cast him off, and determined to do the business by themselves. But Charimenes, perceiving their intention, in resentment of the slight, informed the tyrant of their purpose, when they were to set out to put it in execution. Upon which they fled with precipitation, and most of them escaped to Corinth.

It was not long, however, before Aristomachus was despatched by one of his own servants; but before any measures could be taken to guard against tyranny, Aristippus took the reins, and proved a worse tyrant than the former. Aratus, indeed, marched immediately to Argos with all the Achæans that were able to bear arms, in order to support the citizens, whom he doubted not to find ready to assert their liberty. But they had been long accustomed to the yoke, and were willing to be slaves; insomuch that not one of them joined him, and he returned with the inconvenience of bringing a charge upon the Achæans, that they had committed acts of hostility in time of full peace; for they were summoned to answer for this injustice before the Mantineans.

Aratus did not appear at the trial, and Aristippus being the prosecutor, got a fine of thirty minæ laid upon the Achæans. As that tyrant both hated and feared Aratus, he meditated his death, and Antigonus entered into the scheme. They had their emissaries in almost every quarter, watching their

* We shall here give the reader an account of some laws, by which the Achæan states were governed. 1. An extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign ambassadors, unless they first notified, in writing, to the *Prætor* and *Demiurgi*, the subject of their embassy. 2. No city, subject to the league, was to send any embassy to a foreign prince or state without the consent or approbation of the general diet. 3. No member of the assembly was to accept of presents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatsoever. 4. No prince, state, or city, was to be admitted into the league, without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. The general assembly was not to sit above three days.

† This Aristomachus must not be confounded with him who was thrown into the sea at Cenchreæ. Between them reigned Aristippus.

‡ Polybius places this attempt for the relief of Argos under the second Aristomachus. Vid. Polyb. lib. ii.

opportunity ; but the surest guard for a prince, or other chief, is the sincere affection of his people ; for when the commons and the nobility, instead of fearing their chief magistrate, fear for him, he sees with many eyes, and hears with many ears ; and here I cannot but leave a little the thread of my story, to describe that manner of life which Aristippus was under a necessity of leading, if he chose to keep in his hands that despotism, that state of an arbitrary sovereign, which is commonly so much envied and admired as the highest pitch of happiness.

This tyrant, who had Antigonus for his ally, who kept so large a body guard, and had not left one of his enemies alive in the city, would not suffer his guards to do duty in the palace, but only in the vestibule and porticos about it. When supper was over, he sent away all his servants, barred the door of the hall himself, and with his mistress crept through a trap-door into a small chamber above. Upon that door he placed his bed, and slept there as a person in his anxious state of mind may be supposed to sleep. The ladder by which he went up, his mistress's mother took away, and secured in another room till morning, when she brought it again, and called up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile out of his hole. Whereas Aratus, who acquired a lasting command, not by force of arms, but by virtue, and in a way agreeable to the laws ; who made his appearance without fear in a plain vest and cloak, and always showed himself an enemy to tyrants, left an illustrious posterity among the Greeks, which flourishes at this day. But of those who have seized castles, who have maintained guards, who have fenced themselves with arms, and gates, and barricadoes, how few can we reckon up that have not, like timorous hares, died a violent death ; and not one of them has left a family, or even a monument, to preserve his memory with honour.

Aratus made many attempts, both private and open, to pull down Aristippus, and rescue Argos out of his hands, but he always miscarried. Once he applied his scaling ladders, and ascended the wall with a small party, in spite of the extreme danger that threat-

ened him. He even succeeded so far as to kill the guards that came to oppose him ; but when day appeared, and the tyrant attacked him on all sides, the people of Argos, as if he had not been fighting for their liberty, and they were only presiding at the Nemean games, sat very impartial spectators of the action, without making the least motion to assist. Aratus defended himself with great courage, and though he had his thigh run through with a spear, maintained his post all day against such superior numbers. Would his strength have permitted him to continue the combat in the night, too, he must have carried his point ; for the tyrant now thought of nothing but making his escape, and had already sent most of his treasure on board his ships. However, as no one gave Aratus intelligence of this circumstance, as his water failed, and his wound disqualified him from any further efforts, he called off his men and retired.

He now despaired of succeeding by way of surprise, and therefore openly entered the territories of Argos with his army, and committed great devastations. He fought a pitched battle with Aristippus, near the river Chares, and on that occasion he was censured for deserting the action, and letting the victory slip out of his hands ; for one part of his army had clearly the advantage, and was advancing fast in the pursuit, when he, without being overpowered where he acted in person, merely out of fear and diffidence, retired in great disorder to his camp. His men, on their return from the pursuit, expressed their indignation at being prevented from erecting the trophy, after they had put the enemy to flight, and killed many more men than they had lost. Aratus, wounded with these reproaches, determined to risk a second battle for the trophy. Accordingly, after his men had rested one day, he drew them out the next. But finding that the enemy's numbers were increased, and that their troops were in much higher spirits than before, he durst not venture upon an action, but retreated, after having obtained a truce to carry off the dead. However, by his engaging manners, and his abilities in the administration, he obviated the consequences of this error, and added the

city of Cleonæ to the Achæan league. In Cleonæ he caused the Nemean games to be celebrated; for he thought that city had the best and most ancient claim to them. The people of Argos likewise exhibited them; and on this occasion the freedom and security which had been the privilege of the champions were first violated. The Achæans considered as enemies all that had repaired to the games at Argos, and having seized them as they passed through their territories, sold them for slaves. So violent and implacable was their general's hatred of tyrants.

Not long after, Aratus had intelligence that Aristippus had a design upon Cleonæ, but that he was afraid of him, because he then resided at Corinth, which was very near Cleonæ. In this case he assembled his forces by proclamation, and having ordered them to take provisions for several days, marched to Cenchreæ. By this manœuvre he hoped to bring Aristippus against Cleonæ, as supposing him at a distance, and it had its effect. The tyrant immediately set out from Argos with his army; but it was no sooner dark, than Aratus returned from Cenchreæ to Corinth, and having placed guards in all the roads, led on the Achæans, who followed him in such good order, and with so much celerity and pleasure, that they not only made their march, but entered Cleonæ that night, and put themselves in order of battle; nor did Aristippus gain the least knowledge of this movement.

Next morning, at break of day, the gates were opened, the trumpet sounded, and Aratus advancing at full speed, and with all the alarm of war, fell upon the enemy, and soon routed them. Then he went upon the pursuit, particularly that way which he imagined Aristippus might take; for the country had several outlets. The pursuit was continued as far as Mycenæ, and the tyrant, as Dinias tells us, was overtaken and killed by a Cretan named Tragicus; and of his army there were above fifteen hundred slain. Aratus, though he had gained this important victory without the loss of one man, could not make himself master of Argos, nor deliver it from slavery; for Agias and young Aristomachus entered it with

the king of Macedon's troops, and held it in subjection.

This action silenced in a great measure the calumny of the enemy, and put a stop to the insolent scoffs of those who, to flatter the tyrants, had not scrupled to say, that whenever the Achæan general prepared for battle, his bowels lost their retentive faculty; that when the trumpet sounded, his eyes grew dim, and his head giddy; and that when he had given the word, he used to ask his lieutenants, and other officers, what farther need there could be of him, since the die was cast, and whether he might not retire and wait the event of the day at some distance. These reports had prevailed so much that the philosophers, in their inquiries in the schools, whether the palpitation of the heart and change of colour on the appearance of danger, were arguments of cowardice, or only of some natural defect, some coldness in the constitution? used always to quote Aratus as an excellent general, who yet was always subject to these emotions on occasion of a battle.

After he had destroyed Aristippus, he sought means to depose Lysicles the Megalopolitan, who had assumed the supreme power in his native city. This man had something generous in his nature, and was not insensible to true honour. He had not, like most other tyrants, committed this injustice out of a love of licentious pleasure, or from a motive of avarice; but incited, when very young, by a passion for glory, and unadvisedly believing the false and vain accounts of the wondrous happiness of arbitrary power, he had made it his business to usurp it. However, he soon felt it a heavy burden; and being at once desirous to gain the happiness which Aratus enjoyed, and to deliver himself from the fear of his intriguing spirit, he formed the noblest resolution that can be conceived, which was first to deliver himself from the hatred, the fears, and the guards that encompassed him, and then to bestow the greatest blessings on his country. In consequence hereof, he sent for Aratus, laid down the authority he had assumed, and joined the city to the Achæan league. The Achæans, charmed with his noble spirit, thought it not too great a compliment to elect

nim general. He was no sooner appointed than he discovered an ambition to raise his name above that of Aratus, and was by that means led to several unnecessary attempts, particularly to declare war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus endeavoured to prevent it, but his opposition was thought to proceed from envy. Lysides was chosen general a second time, though Aratus exerted all his interest to get that appointment for another; for, as we have already observed, he had the command himself only every other year. Lysides was fortunate enough to gain that commission a third time, enjoying it alternately with Aratus. But at last avowing himself his enemy, and often accusing him to the Achæans in full council, that people cast him off; for he appeared with only an assumed character to contend against real and sincere virtue. Æsop tells us, "That the cuckoo one day asked the little birds why they avoided her; and they answered, it was because they feared she would at last prove a hawk." In like manner it happened to Lysides. It was suspected that, as he had been once a tyrant, his laying down his power was not quite a voluntary thing, and that he would be glad to take the first opportunity to resume it.

Aratus acquired new glory in the war with the Ætolians. The Achæans pressed him to engage them on the confines of Megara; and Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, who attended with an army, joined his instances to theirs; but he would not consent. They reproached him with want of spirit, with cowardice; they tried what the weapons of ridicule could do; but he bore all their attacks with patience, and would not sacrifice the real good of the community to the fear of seeming disgrace. Upon this principle he suffered the Ætolians to pass mount Gerania, and to enter Peloponnesus without the least resistance. But when he found that in their march they had seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man. Without the least delay, without waiting till all his forces were assembled, he advanced with those he had at hand against the enemy, who were much weakened by their late acquisition, for it had occasioned the utmost disorder and misrule. They had no

sooner entered the city than the private men dispersed themselves in the houses, and began to scramble and fight for the booty, while the generals and other officers seized the wives and daughters of the inhabitants, and each put his helmet on the head of his prize, as a mark to whom she belonged, and to prevent her coming into the hands of another.

While they were thus employed, news was brought that Aratus was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. The consternation was such as might be expected amongst men in extreme disorder. Before they were all apprized of their danger, those that were about the gates and in the suburbs had skirmished a few moments with the Achæans, and were put to flight. And the precipitation with which they fled greatly distressed those who had assembled to support them. During this confusion, one of the captives, daughter to Epigethes, a person of great eminence in Pellene, who was remarkable for her beauty and majestic mien, was seated in the temple of Diana, where the officer, whose prize she was, had placed her, after having put his helmet, which was adorned with three plumes of feathers, on her head. This lady, hearing the noise and tumult, ran out suddenly to see what was the cause. As she stood at the door of the temple, and looked down upon the combatants, with the helmet still upon her head, she appeared to the citizens a figure more than human, and the enemy took her for a deity; which struck the latter with such terror and astonishment that they were no longer able to use their arms.

The Pelleneans tell us, that the statue of the goddess stands commonly untouched, and that when the priestess moves it out of the temple, in order to carry it in procession, none dare look it in the face, but, on the contrary, they turn away their eyes with great care; for it is not only a terrible and dangerous sight to mankind, but its look renders the trees barren, and blasts the fruits where it passes. They add, that the priestess carried it out on this occasion, and always turning the face directly towards the Ætolians, filled them with horror, and deprived them of their senses. But Aratus, in

his Commentaries, makes no mention of any such circumstance; he only says, that he put the Ætolians to flight, and entering the town with the fugitives, dislodged them by dint of sword, and killed seven hundred. This action was one of the most celebrated in history; Timanthes the painter gave a very lively and excellent representation of it.

However, as many powerful states were combining against the Achæans, Aratus hastened to make peace with the Ætolians, which he not only effected with the assistance of Pantaleon, one of the most powerful men amongst them, but likewise entered into an alliance offensive and defensive. He had a strong desire to restore Athens to its liberty, and exposed himself to the severest censures of the Achæans, by attempting to surprise the Piræus, while there was a truce subsisting between them and the Macedonians, Aratus, indeed, in his Commentaries, denies the fact, and lays the blame upon Erginus, with whom he took the citadel of Corinth. He says, it was the peculiar scheme of Erginus to attempt that port; that, his ladder breaking, he miscarried, and was pursued; and that to save himself, he often called upon Aratus, as if present; by which artifice he deceived the enemy, and escaped. But this defence of his wants probability to support it. It is not likely that Erginus, a private man, a Syrian, would have formed a design of such consequence, without having Aratus at the head of it, to supply him with troops, and to point out the opportunity for the attack. Nay, Aratus proved the same against himself, by making not only two or three, but many more attempts upon the Piræus. Like a person violently in love, his miscarriages did not prevail upon him to desist; for, as his hopes were disappointed only by the failure perhaps of a single circumstance, and he was always within a little of succeeding, he still encouraged himself to go on. In one repulse, as he fled over the fields of Thirasium, he broke his leg; and the cure could not be effected without several incisions; so that, for some time after, when he was called to action, he was carried into the field in a litter.

After the death of Antigonus, and Demetrius's accession to the throne, Aratus was more intent than ever on delivering Athens from the yoke, and conceived an utter contempt for the Macedonians. He was, however, defeated in a battle near Phylacia, by Bithys, the new king's general; and a strong report being spread on one side that he was taken prisoner, and on another, that he was dead, Diogenes, who commanded in the Piræus, wrote a letter to Corinth, insisting "That the Achæans should evacuate the place, since Aratus was no more." Aratus happened to be at Corinth when the letter arrived, and the messengers finding that their business occasioned much laughter and satirical discourse, retired in great confusion. The king of Macedon himself, too, sent a ship with orders "That Aratus should be brought to him in chains."

The Athenians exceeding themselves in flattery to the Macedonians, wore chaplets of flowers upon the first report of Aratus's death. Incensed at this treatment, he immediately marched out against them; and proceeded as far as the Academy. But they implored him to spare them, and he returned without doing them the least injury. This made the Athenians sensible of his virtue; and, as upon the death of Demetrius they were determined to make an attempt for liberty, they called him in to their assistance. Though he was not general of the Achæans that year, and was so much indisposed besides, by long sickness, as to be forced to keep his bed, yet he caused himself to be carried in a litter, to render them his best services. Accordingly he prevailed upon Diogenes, who commanded the garrison, to give up the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians, for the consideration of a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus himself furnished. Upon this the Æginetæ and Hermionians joined the Achæans, and great part of Arcadia paid contributions to the league. The Macedonians now found employment enough for their arms nearer home, and the Achæans numbering the Ætolians amongst their allies, found a great addition to their power.

Aratus still proceeded upon his old

principles, and in his uneasiness to see tyranny established in a city so near him as that of Argos, sent his agents to Aristomachus, to represent "How advantageous a thing it would be for him to restore that city to liberty, and join it to the Achæan league; how noble to follow the example of Lysiadès, and command so great a people with reputation and honour, as the general of their choice, rather than one city as a tyrant, exposed to perpetual danger and hatred." Aristomachus listened to their suggestions, and desired Aratus to send him fifty talents to pay off his troops. The money was granted agreeably to his request; but Lysiadès, whose commission as general was not expired, and who was ambitious to have this negotiation pass with the Achæans for his work, took an opportunity, while the money was providing, to accuse Aratus to Aristomachus, as a person that had an implacable aversion to tyrants, and to advise him rather to put the business into his hands. Aristomachus believed these suggestions, and Lysiadès had the honour of introducing him to the league. But on this occasion especially the Achæan council showed their affection and fidelity to Aratus; for, upon his speaking against Aristomachus, they rejected him with marks of resentment. Afterwards when Aratus was prevailed upon to manage the affair, they readily accepted the proposal, and passed a decree, by which the Argives and Phliasiens were admitted into the league. The year following, too, Aristomachus was appointed general.

Aristomachus finding himself esteemed by the Achæans, was desirous of carrying his arms into Laconia, for which purpose he sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus made answer, that he utterly disapproved the expedition, not choosing that the Achæans should engage with Cleomenes,* whose spirit and power kept growing in proportion to the dangers he had to encounter.

* Some authors write, that Cleomenes, at the instigation of the Ætolians, had built a fortress in the territory of the Megalopolitans, called *Athæneum*; which the Achæans considered as an open rupture, and therefore declared, in a general assembly, that the Lacedæmonians should be considered as enemies.

Aristomachus, however, was bent upon the enterprise, and Aratus yielding to his solicitations, returned to assist him in the war. Cleomenes offered him battle at Palantium, but Aratus prevented him from accepting the challenge. Hereupon Lysiadès accused Aratus to the Achæans, and the year following declared himself his competitor for the command; but Aratus had the majority of votes, and was for the twelfth time declared general.

This year he was defeated by Cleomenes at mount Lycæum; and, in his flight, being forced to wander about in the night, he was supposed to be killed. This was the second time that a report of his death was spread over Greece. He saved himself, however, and having collected the scattered remains of his forces, was not satisfied with retiring unmolested; on the contrary, he availed himself in the best manner of his opportunity; and when none expected, or even thought of such a manœuvre, fell suddenly upon the Mantineans, who were allies to Cleomenes, took their city, secured it with a garrison, and declared all the strangers he found there free of the city. In short, he acquired that for the Achæans, when beaten, which they could not easily have gained when victorious.

The Lacedæmonians again entering the territories of Megalopolis, he marched to relieve that city. Cleomenes endeavoured to bring him to an engagement, but he declined it, though the Megalopolitans pressed him much to leave the matter to the decision of the sword; for, besides that he was never very fit for disputes in the open field, he was now inferior in numbers; and, at a time of life when his spirits began to fail, and his ambition was subdued, he would have had to do with a young man of the most adventurous courage. He thought, too, that, if Cleomenes, by his boldness, sought to acquire glory, it became *him*, by his caution, to keep that which he had.

One day the light infantry skirmished with the Spartans, and having driven them to their camp, entered it with them, and began to plunder. Aratus even then would not lead on the main body, but kept his men on the other side of a defile that lay between, and would not suffer them to pass. Lysi-

ades, incensed at this order, and reproaching him with cowardice, called upon the cavalry to support the party which was in pursuit of the enemy, and not to betray the victory, nor to desert a man who was going to hazard all for his country. Many of the best men in the army followed him to the charge, which was so vigorous that he put the right wing of the Lacedæmonians to flight. But, in the ardour of his courage, and his ambition for honour, he went inconsiderately upon the pursuit, till he fell into an intricate way, obstructed with trees, and intersected with large ditches. Cleomenes attacked him in this ground, and slew him, after he had maintained the most glorious of all combats, the combat for his people, almost at their own doors. The rest of the cavalry fled, and turning back upon the main body, put the infantry in disorder, so that the rout became general.

This loss was principally ascribed to Aratus, for he was thought to have abandoned Lysicles to his fate. The Achæans, therefore, retired in great anger, and obliged him to follow them to Ægium. There it was decreed in full council, that he should be supplied with no more money, nor have any mercenaries maintained; and that if he would go to war, he must find resources for it himself. Thus ignominiously treated, he was inclined to give up the seal, and resign his command immediately; but, upon more mature consideration, he thought it better to bear the affront with patience. Soon after this he led the Achæans to Orchomenus, where he gave battle to Megistonus, father-in-law to Cleomenes, killed three hundred of his men, and took him prisoner.

It had been customary with him to take the command every other year; but when his turn came, and he was called upon to resume it, he absolutely refused, and Timoxenus was appointed general. The reason commonly given for his rejecting that commission was his resentment against the people for the late dishonour they had done him; but the real cause was the bad posture of the Achæan affairs. Cleomenes no longer advanced by insensible steps: he had no measures now to keep with the magistrates at home, nor anything to

fear from their opposition; for he had put the *Ephori* to death, distributed the lands in equal portions, and admitted many strangers citizens of Sparta. After he had made himself absolute master by these means at home, he marched into Achaia, and insisted upon being appointed general of the league. Aratus, therefore, is highly blamed, when affairs were in such a tempestuous state, for giving up the helm to another pilot, when he ought rather to have taken it by force to save the community from sinking; or, if he thought the Achæan power beyond the possibility of being retrieved, he should have yielded to Cleomenes, and not have brought Peloponnesus into a state of barbarism again with Macedonian garrisons, nor filled the citadel of Corinth with Illyrian and Gaulish arms; for this was making those men to whom he had shown himself superior, both in his military and political capacity, and whom he vilified so much in his Commentaries, masters of his cities, under the softer, but false name of allies. It may be said, perhaps, that Cleomenes wanted justice, and was tyrannically inclined; let us grant it for a moment; yet he was a descendant of the Heraclidæ, and his country was Sparta, the meanest citizen of which should have been preferred as general of the league to the first of the Macedonians, at least by those who set any value on the dignity of Greece. Besides, Cleomenes asked for the command among the Achæans,* only to make their cities happy in his services, in return for the honour of the title; whereas Antigonus, though declared commander in chief both by sea and land, would not accept the commission till he was paid with the citadel of Corinth; in which he perfectly resembled Æsop's hunter;† for

* Perhaps Aratus was apprehensive that Cleomenes would endeavour to make himself absolute amongst the Achæans, as he was already in Lacedæmon. There was a possibility, however, of his behaving with honour as general of the Achæans; whereas, from Antigonus nothing could be expected but chains.

† Horace gives us this fable of Æsop's; but, before Æsop, the poet Stesichorus is said to have applied it to the Himerians, when they were going to raise a guard for Phalaris.

he would not ride the Achæans, though they offered their backs, and though by embassies and decrees they courted him to do it, till he had first bridled them by his garrison, and by the hostages which they were obliged to deliver to him.

It is true, Aratus labours to justify himself by the necessity of affairs. But Polybius assures us, that, long before that necessity existed, he had been afraid of the daring spirit of Cleomenes, and had not only treated with Antigonus in private, but drawn in the Megalopolitans to propose it to the general assembly of the Achæans, that Antigonus should be invited to their assistance; for, whenever Cleomenes renewed his depredations, the Megalopolitans were the first that suffered by them. Phylarchus gives the same account; but we should not have afforded him much credit, if he had not been supported by the testimony of Polybius: for such is his fondness for Cleomenes, that he cannot speak of him but in an enthusiastic manner; and, as if he was pleading a cause rather than writing a history, he perpetually disparages the one, and vindicates the other.

The Achæans having lost Mantinea, which Cleomenes now took a second time, and being moreover defeated in a great battle at Hecatombeum, were struck with such terror that they immediately invited Cleomenes to Argos, with a promise of making him general. But Aratus no sooner perceived that he was on his march, and had brought his army as far as Lerma, than his fears prevailed, and he sent ambassadors to desire him to come to the Achæans as friends and allies, with three hundred men only. They were to add, that if he had any distrust of the Achæans, they would give him hostages. Cleomenes told them, they did but insult and mock him with such a message, and returning immediately, wrote a letter to the Achæan council, full of complaints and invectives against Aratus. Aratus wrote another against Cleomenes in the same style; and they proceeded to such gross abuse, as not to spare even the characters of their wives and families.

Upon this Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans; and in the meantime the city of Sicyon

was near being betrayed to him. Disappointed of his expectation there, he turned against Pellene, dislodged the Achæan garrison, and secured the town for himself. A little after this, he took Pheneum and Pentelium; and it was not long before the people of Argos adopted his interest, and the Philiarians received his garrison: so that scarce anything remained firm to the Achæans of the dominions they had acquired. Aratus saw nothing but confusion about him; all Peloponnesus was in a tottering condition; and the cities everywhere excited by innovators to revolt. Indeed none were quiet or satisfied with their present circumstances. Even amongst the Sicyonians and Corinthians many were found to have a correspondence with Cleomenes, having been long disaffected to the administration and the public utility, because they wanted to get the power into their own hands. Aratus was invested with full authority to punish the delinquents. The corrupt members of Sicyon he cut off; but, by seeking for such in Corinth, in order to put them to death, he exasperated the people, already sick of the same distemper, and weary of the Achæan government.* On this occasion they assembled in the temple of Apollo, and sent for Aratus, being determined either to kill him, or take him prisoner, before they proceeded to an open revolt. He came leading his horse, as if he had not the least mistrust or suspicion. When they saw him at the gate, a number of them rose up, and loaded him with reproaches. But he, with a composed countenance and mild address, bade them sit down again, and not, by standing in the way and making such a disorderly noise, prevent other citizens who were at the door from entering. At the same time that he said this, he drew back step by step, as if he was seeking somebody to take his horse. Thus he got out of the crowd, and continued to talk, without the least appearance of confusion, to such of the Corinthians as he met, and desired them to go to the temple, till he insensibly approached the city.

* What wonder, when they saw Aratus unfaithful to his first principles, and going to bring them again under the Macedonian yoke?

del. He then mounted his horse, and without stopping any longer at the fort than to give his orders to Cleopater the governor to keep a strict guard upon it, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by no more than thirty soldiers, for the rest had left him and dispersed.

The Corinthians, soon apprized of his flight, went in pursuit of him; but failing in their design, they sent for Cleomenes, and put the city into his hands. He did not, however, think this advantage equal to his loss in their suffering Aratus to escape. As soon as the inhabitants of that district on the coast called *Acte* had surrendered their towns, he shut up the citadel with a wall of circumvallation, and a pallisadoed intrenchment.

In the meantime many of the Achæans repaired to Aratus at Sicyon, and a general assembly was held, in which he was chosen commander-in-chief, with an unlimited commission. He now first took a guard, and it was composed of his fellow-citizens. He had conducted the Achæan administration three-and-thirty years; he had been the first man in Greece, both in power and reputation; but he now found himself abandoned, indigent, persecuted, without anything but one plank to trust to in the storm that had shipwrecked his country. For the Ætolians refused him the assistance which he requested, and the city of Athens, though well inclined to serve him, was prevented by Euclides and Micion.

Aratus had a house and valuable effects at Corinth. Cleomenes would not touch anything that belonged to him, but sent for his friends and agents, and charged them to take the utmost care of his affairs, as remembering that they must give an account to Aratus. To Aratus himself he privately sent Tripylis, and afterwards his father-in-law, Megistonus, with great offers, and among the rest a pension of twelve talents, which was double the yearly allowance he had from Ptolemy. For this, he desired to be appointed general of the Achæans, and to be joined with him in the care of the citadel of Corinth, Aratus answered, "That he did not now govern affairs, but they governed him." As there appeared an insincerity in this answer, Cleomenes entered the territories of Sicyon, and

committed great devastations. He likewise blocked up the city for three months together; all which time Aratus was debating with himself whether he should surrender the citadel to Antigonus; for he would not send him succours on any other condition.

Before he could take his resolution, the Achæans met in council at Ægium, and called him to attend it. As the town was invested by Cleomenes, it was dangerous to pass. The citizens entreated him not to go, and declared they would not suffer him to expose himself to an enemy who was watching for his prey. The matrons and their children, too, hung upon him, and wept for him as for a common parent and protector. He consoled them, however, as well as he could, and rode down to the sea, taking with him ten of his friends, and his son, who was now approaching to manhood. Finding some vessels at anchor, he went on board, and arrived safe at Ægium. There he held an assembly, in which it was decreed that Antigonus should be called in, and the citadel surrendered to him. Aratus sent his own son amongst the other hostages; which the Corinthians so much resented, that they plundered his goods, and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

As Antigonus was now approaching with his army, which consisted of twenty thousand foot, all Macedonians, and of fourteen hundred horse, Aratus went with the Achæan magistrates by sea,* and without being discovered by the enemy, met him at Pegæ; though he placed no great confidence in Antigonus, and distrusted the Macedonians. For he knew that his greatness had been owing to the mischiefs he had done them, and that he had first risen to the direction of affairs in consequence of his hatred to old Antigonus. But seeing an indispensable necessity before him, such an occasion as those who seemed to command are forced to obey, he faced the danger. When Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in person, he gave the rest a common welcome, but received him in the most honourable manner; and finding him upon trial to be a man of pro-

* The magistrates called *Demiurgi*. See an account of them before.

bity and prudence, took him into his most intimate friendship, for Aratus was not only serviceable to the king in great affairs, but in the hours of leisure his most agreeable companion. Antigonus, therefore, though young, perceiving in him such a temper, and such other qualities as fitted him for a prince's friendship, preferred him not only to the rest of the Achæans, but even to the Macedonians that were about him, and continued to employ him in every affair of consequence. Thus the thing which the gods announced by the entrails of one of the victims, was accomplished; for it is said, that when Aratus was sacrificing not long before, there appeared in the liver two gall bladders enclosed in the same caul; upon which, the diviner declared, that two enemies, who appeared the most irreconcilable, would soon be united in the strictest friendship. Aratus then took little notice of the saying, for he never put much faith in victims, nor indeed in predictions from anything else, but used to depend upon his reason. Some time after, however, when the war went on successfully, Antigonus made an entertainment at Corinth, at which, though there was a numerous company, he placed Aratus next above him. They had not sat long before Antigonus called for a cloak. At the same time he asked Aratus, "Whether he did not think it very cold," and he answered, "It was extremely cold." The king then desired him to sit nearer, and the servants who brought the cloak, put it over the shoulders of both. This putting Aratus in mind of the victim, he informed the king both of the sign and the prediction. But this happened long after the time that we are upon.

While they were at Pegæ, they took oaths of mutual fidelity, and then marched against the enemy. There were several actions under the walls of Corinth, in which Cleomenes had fortified himself strongly, and the Corinthians defended the place with great vigour.

In the meantime, Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, and friend of Aratus, sent an agent to him privately, with an offer of bringing that city to declare for him, if he would go thither in person with some troops. Aratus having acquainted

Antigonus with this scheme, embarked fifteen hundred men, and sailed immediately with them from the Isthmus to Epidaurus. But the people of Argos, without waiting for his arrival, had attacked the troops of Cleomenes, and shut them up in the citadel. Cleomenes having notice of this, and fearing that the enemy, if they were in possession of Argos, might cut off his retreat to Lacedæmon, left his post before the citadel of Corinth the same night, and marched to the succour of his men. He reached it before Aratus, and gained some advantage over the enemy; but Aratus arriving soon after, and the king appearing with his army, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

Upon this all the cities joined the Achæans again. Antigonus made himself master of the citadel of Corinth, and the Argives having appointed Aratus their general, he persuaded them to give Antigonus the estates of the late tyrants and all the traitors. That people put Aristomachus to the torture at Cenchreæ,* and afterwards drowned him in the sea. Aratus was much censured on this occasion, for permitting a man to suffer unjustly, who was not of a bad character, with whom he formerly had connexions, and who, at his persuasion, had abdicated the supreme power, and brought Argos to unite itself to the Achæan league. There were other charges against Aratus, namely, that at his instigation the Achæans had given the city of Corinth to Antigonus, as if it had been no more than an ordinary village; that they had suffered him to pillage Orchomenus, and place in it a Macedonian garrison; that they had made a decree that their community should not send a letter or an embassy to any other king, without the consent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain and pay the Macedonians; and that they had sacrifices, libations, and games, in honour of Antigonus,—the fellow-citizens of Aratus setting the example, and receiving Antigonus into their city, on which occa-

* Plutarch seems here to have followed Phylarchus. Polybius tells us, that Aristomachus deserved greater punishments than he suffered, not only for his extreme cruelty when tyrant of Argos, but also for his abandoning the Achæans in their distress, and declaring for their enemies.

sion Aratus entertained him in his house. For all these things they blamed Aratus, not considering that when he had once put the reins in the hand of that prince, he was necessarily carried along with the tide of regal power; no longer master of anything but his tongue, and it was dangerous to use that with freedom; for he was visibly concerned at many circumstances of the king's conduct, particularly with respect to the statues. Antigonus erected anew those of the tyrants which Aratus had pulled down, and demolished those he had set up in memory of the brave men that surprised the citadel of Corinth; that of Aratus only was spared, notwithstanding his intercession for the rest. In the affair of Mantinea,* too, the behaviour of the Achæans was not suitable to the Grecian humanity; for having conquered it by means of Antigonus, they put the principal of the inhabitants to the sword, some of the rest they sold or sent in fetters to Macedonia, and they made slaves of the women and children. Of the money thus raised they divided a third part amongst themselves, and gave the rest to the Macedonians. But this had its excuse in the law of reprisals; for, however shocking it may appear for men to sacrifice to their anger those of their own nation and kindred, yet in necessity, as Simonides says, it seems rather a proper alleviation than a hardship, to give relief to a mind inflamed and aching with resentment. But as to what Aratus did afterwards with respect to Mantinea, it is impossible to justify him upon a plea either of propriety or necessity; for Antigonus having made a present of that city to the Argives, they resolved to repeople it, and appointed Aratus to see

it done; in virtue of which commission, as well as that of general, he decreed that it should no more be called Mantinea, but Antigonea, which name it still bears. Thus by his means Mantinea, *the amiable Mantinea*, as Homer calls it, was no more, and in the place of it we have a city which took its name from the man who ruined its inhabitants.

Some time after this, Cleomenes being overthrown in a great battle near Sellasia,† quitted Sparta, and sailed to Egypt. As for Antigonus, after the kindest and most honourable behaviour to Aratus, he returned to Macedonia. In his sickness there, which happened soon after his arrival, he sent Philip, then very young, but already declared his successor, into Peloponnesus, having first instructed him above all things to give attention to Aratus, and through him to treat with the cities, and make himself known to the Achæans. Aratus received him with great honour, and managed him so well, that he returned to Macedonia full of sentiments of respect for his friend, and in the most favourable disposition for the interests of Greece.

After the death of Antigonus, the Ætolians despised the inactivity of the Achæans; for accustomed to the protection of foreign arms, and sheltering themselves under the Macedonian power, they sunk into a state of idleness and disorder. This gave the Ætolians room to attempt a footing in Peloponnesus. By the way they made some booty in the country about Patræ and Dyme, and then proceeded to

+ Cleomenes had intrenched himself so strongly near Sellasia, in a narrow pass between the mountains Eva and Olympus, that Antigonus did not think proper to attack him there. It is not easy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to come out of these intrenchments, and risk a pitched battle. His troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third, and he was supplied with all sorts of provisions from Sparta. What, then, could make him hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon? Polybius, indeed, seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding, for he tells us, that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had promised to assist him in this war, acquainted him that he was not in a condition to make good his engagements. And as Cleomenes did not choose to try the other alternative, that of suing to Antigonus for a peace, he risked all upon the event of that day.

* The Mantineans had applied to the Achæans for a garrison to defend them against the Lacedæmonians. In compliance with their request, the Achæans sent them three hundred of their own citizens, and two hundred mercenaries. But the Mantineans soon after changing their minds, in the most perfidious manner massacred that garrison. They deserved, therefore, all that they are here said to have suffered; but Polybius makes no mention of the principal inhabitants being put to death; he only says, their goods were plundered, and some of the people sold for slaves.

Messene, and laid waste its territories. Aratus was incensed at this insolence, but he perceived that Timoxenus, who was then general, took slow and dilatory measures, because his year was almost expired. Therefore, as he was to succeed to the command, he anticipated his commission by five days, for the sake of assisting the Messenians. He assembled the Achæans, but they had now neither exercise nor courage to enable them to maintain the combat, and consequently he was beaten in a battle which he fought at Caphyæ. Being accused of having ventured too much on this occasion,* he became afterwards so cold, and so far abandoned his hopes for the public, as to neglect the opportunities which the Ætolians gave him, and suffered them to roam about Peloponnesus, in a bacchanalian manner, committing all the excesses that insolence could suggest.

The Achæans were now obliged to stretch out their hands again towards Macedonia, and brought Philip to interfere in the affairs of Greece. They knew the regard he had for Aratus, and the confidence he placed in him, and hoped on that account to find him tractable and easy in all their affairs.

* Aratus was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before his time. In the next place, he was blamed for having dismissed the Achæan troops, while the Ætolians were still in the heart of Peloponnesus. The third article against him was, his venturing a battle with so few troops, when he might have made, with great ease, a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not, in the whole action, take one step that became a general of any experience; for he sent the cavalry and light-armed foot to attack the enemy's rear, after their front had gained the advantage; whereas he ought to have encountered the front at first with the advantage of having them on the declivity; in which case his heavy-armed infantry would have done him great service. However, he endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able general, he asked pardon, and hoped that, in regard of his past services, they would not censure him with rigour. This submission of his changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers.

But the king now first began to listen to Apelles, Megalacus, and other courtiers, who endeavoured to darken the character of Aratus, and prevailed upon him to support the contrary party, by which means Eperatus was elected general of the Achæans. Eperatus, however, soon fell into the greatest contempt amongst them, and as Aratus would not give any attention to their concerns, nothing went well. Philip, finding that he had committed a capital error, turned again to Aratus, and gave himself up entirely to his direction. As his affairs now prospered, and his power and reputation grew under the culture of Aratus, he depended entirely on him for the farther increase of both. Indeed, it was evident to all the world, that Aratus had excellent talents, not only for guiding a commonwealth, but a kingdom too; for there appeared a tincture of his principles and manners in all the conduct of this young prince. Thus the moderation with which he treated the Spartans,† after they had offended him, his engaging behaviour to the Cretans, by which he gained the whole island in a few days, and the glorious success of his expedition against the Ætolians, gained Philip the honour of knowing how to follow good counsel, and Aratus that of being able to give it.

On this account the courtiers envied him still more; and as they found that their private engines of calumny availed nothing, they began to try open battery, reviling and insulting him at table with the utmost effrontery and lowest abuse. Nay, once they threw stones at him, as he was retiring from supper to his tent. Philip, incensed at such outrage, fined them twenty talents, and, upon their proceeding to disturb and embroil his affairs, put them to death.

But afterwards he was carried so high by the flow of prosperity as to discover many disorderly passions. The

+ The Spartans had killed one of their *Ephori*, and some others of their citizens who were in the interest of Philip; and some of his counsellors advised him to revenge the affront with rigour. But he said, that, as the Spartans now belonged to the Achæan league, they were accountable to it; and that it ill became him to treat them with severity, who were his allies, when his predecessor had extended his clemency to them, though enemies.

native badness of his disposition broke through the veil he had put over it, and by degrees his real character appeared. In the first place, he greatly injured young Aratus by corrupting his wife; and the commerce was a long time secret, because he lived under his roof, where he had been received under the sanction of hospitality. In the next place, he discovered a strong aversion to commonwealths, and to the cities that were under that form of government. It was easy to be seen, too, that he wanted to shake off Aratus. The first suspicion of his intentions arose from his behaviour with respect to the Messenians. There were two factions amongst them which had raised a sedition in the city. Aratus went to reconcile them; but Philip getting to the place a day before him, added stings to their mutual resentments. On the one hand, he called the magistrates privately, and asked them whether they had not laws to restrain the rabble? And on the other, he asked the demagogues whether they had not hands to defend them against tyrants? The magistrates, thus encouraged, attacked the chiefs of the people, and they in their turn came with superior numbers, and killed the magistrates, with near two hundred more of their party.

After Philip had engaged in these detestable practices, which exasperated the Messenians still more against each other, Aratus, when he arrived, made no secret of his resentment, nor did he restrain his son in the severe and disparaging things he said to Philip. The young men had once a particular attachment to Philip, which in those days they distinguished by the name of love; but, on this occasion, he scrupled not to tell him, "That after such a base action, instead of appearing agreeable, he was the most deformed of human-kind."

Philip made no answer, though anger evidently was working in his bosom, and he often muttered to himself while the other was speaking. However, he pretended to bear it with great calmness, and affecting to appear the man of subdued temper and refined manners, gave the elder Aratus his hand, and took him from the theatre to the castle of Ithome,* under pretence of sacri-

ficing to Jupiter and visiting the place. This fort, which is as strong as the citadel of Corinth, were it garrisoned, would greatly annoy the neighbouring country, and be almost impregnable. After Philip had offered his sacrifice there, and the diviner came to show him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands, and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Phariæ, sometimes turning them to one, and sometimes to the other, and asking them, "What they saw in the entrails of the victim; whether they warned him to keep this citadel, or to restore it to the Messenians?" Demetrius smiled and said, "If you have the soul of a diviner, you will restore it; but, if that of a king, you will hold the bull by both his horns." By which he hinted that he must have Peloponnesus entirely in subjection, if he added Ithome to the citadel of Corinth. Aratus was a long time silent, but upon Philip's pressing him to declare his opinion, he said, "There are many mountains of great strength in Crete, many castles in Bœotia and Phocis in lofty situations, and many impregnable places in Acarnania, both on the coast and within land. You have seized none of these, and yet they all pay you a voluntary obedience. Robbers, indeed, take to rocks and precipices for security; but for a king there is no such fortress as honour and humanity. These are the things that have opened to you the Cretan sea, these have unbarred the gates of Peloponnesus. In short, by these it is that, at so early a period in life, you are become general of the one and sovereign of the other." Whilst he was yet speaking, Philip returned the entrails to the diviner, and taking Aratus by the hand, drew him along, and said, "Come on, then, let us go as we came;" intimating that he had overruled him, and deprived him of such an acquisition as the city would have been.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from court, and by degrees to give up all correspondence with Philip. He refused also to accompany him in his expedition into Epirus, though applied to for that purpose; choosing to stay at home, lest he should share in-

* In the printed text it is *Ithomata*, which agrees with the name this fort has in Poly-

bios; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Ithome*, which is the name Strabo gives it.

the disrepute of his actions. But, after Philip had lost his fleet with great disgrace in the Roman war, and nothing succeeded to his wish, he returned to Peloponnesus, and tried once more what art could do to impose upon the Messenians. When he found that his designs were discovered, he had recourse to open hostilities, and ravaged their country. Aratus then saw all his meanness, and broke with him entirely. By this time, too, he perceived that he had dishonoured his son's bed; but though the injury lay heavy on him, he concealed it from his son, because he could only inform him that he was abused, without being able to help him to the means of revenge. There seemed to be a great and unnatural change in Philip, who, of a mild and sober young prince, became a libidinous and cruel tyrant; but in fact it was not a change of disposition, it was only discovering, in a time of full security, the vices which his fears had long concealed. That his regard for Aratus had originally a great mixture of fear and reverence appeared even in the method he took to destroy him. For though he was very desirous of effecting that cruel purpose, because he neither looked upon himself as an absolute prince, or a king, or even a freeman, while Aratus lived, yet he would not attempt anything against him in the way of open force, but desired Phaurion, one of his friends and generals, to take him off in a private manner, in his absence; at the same time he recommended poison. That officer accordingly having formed an acquaintance with him, gave him a dose, not of a sharp or violent kind, but such an one as causes lingering heats and a slight cough, and gradually brings the body to decay. Aratus was not ignorant of the cause of his disorder, but knowing that it availed nothing to discover it to the world, he bore it quietly and in silence, as if it had been an ordinary distemper. Indeed, when one of his friends came to visit him in his chamber, and expressed his surprise at seeing him spit blood, he said, "Such, Cephalon, are the fruits of royal friendship."

Thus died Aratus at Ægium, after he had been seventeen times general of the Achæans. That people were desirous of having him buried there, and

would have thought it an honour to give him a magnificent funeral, and a monument worthy of his life and character. But the Sicyonians considered it as a misfortune to have him interred anywhere but amongst them, and therefore persuaded the Achæans to leave the disposal of the body entirely to them. As there was an ancient law that had been observed with religious care, against burying any person within their walls, and they were afraid to transgress it on this occasion, they sent to inquire of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, and she returned this answer.

Seek you what funeral honours you shall pay

To your departed prince, the small reward
For liberty restor'd, and glory won?

Bid Sicyon, fearless, rear the sacred tomb.

For the vile tongue that dares with impious breath

Offend Aratus, blasts the face of Nature,
Pours horror on the earth, and seas, and skies.

This oracle gave great joy to all the Achæans, particularly the people of Sicyon. They changed the day of mourning into a festival, and adorning themselves with garlands and white robes, brought the corpse with songs and dances from Ægium to Sicyon. There they selected the most conspicuous ground, and interred him as the founder and deliverer of their city. The place is still called *Aratum*; and there they offer two yearly sacrifices; the one on the fifth of the month Dæsius, (the Athenians call it *Athesterion**) which was the day he delivered the city from the yoke of tyrants, and on which account they call the festival *Soteria*: the other on his birth-day. The first sacrifice was offered by the priest of Jupiter the *Preserver*, and the second by the son of Aratus, who, on that occasion, wore a girdle, not entirely white, but half purple. The music was sung to the harp by the choir that belonged to the theatre. The procession was led up by the master of the *Gymnasium*, at the head of the boys and young men; the senate followed, crowned with flowers, and such of the other citizens as chose to attend. Some small marks of the ceremonies observed on those days still remain, but the

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

greatest part is worn out by time and other circumstances.

Such was the life and character that history has given us of the elder Aratus. And as to the younger, Philip, who was naturally wicked, and delighted to add insolence to cruelty, gave him potions, not of the deadly kind, but such as deprived him of his reason; insomuch that he took up inclinations that were shocking and monstrous, and delighted in things that not only dishonoured but destroyed him. Death, therefore, which took him in the flower of his age, was considered, not as a misfortune, but a deliverance. The vengeance, however, of Jupiter, the patron of hospitality and friendship, visited Philip for his breach of both, and pursued him through life; for he was beaten by the Romans, and forced to yield himself to their discretion. In

consequence of which, he was stripped of all the provinces he had conquered, gave up all his ships, except five, obliged himself to pay a thousand talents, and deliver his son as a hostage. He even held Macedonia and its dependencies only at the mercy of the conquerors. Amidst all these misfortunes, he was possessed only of one blessing, a son of superior virtue, and him he put to death, in his envy and jealousy of the honours the Romans paid him. He left his crown to his other son Perseus, who was believed not to be his, but a supposititious child, born of a sempstress named Gnathænum. It was over him that Paulus Æmilius triumphed, and in him ended the royal race of Antigonus; whereas the posterity of Aratus remained to our days, and still continues in Sicyon and Pelene.



GALBA.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian general, thought that a soldier of fortune should have an attachment both to money and pleasure, that his passions might put him upon fighting with more boldness for a supply. But most others are of opinion, that the main body of an army, like the healthy natural body, should have no motion of its own, but be entirely guided by the head. Hence Paulus Æmilius, when he found his army in Macedonia talkative, busy, and ready to direct their general, is said to have given orders, "That each should keep his hand fit for action, and his sword sharp, and leave the rest to him." And Plato, perceiving that the best general cannot undertake anything with success, unless his troops are sober, and perfectly united to support him, concluded, that to know how to obey required as generous a disposition, and as rational an education, as to know how to command; for these advantages would correct the violence and impetuosity of the soldier with the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. Amongst other fatal examples, what happened amongst the Romans after the death of Nero, is sufficient to show, that nothing is more dreadful than an undisciplined army actuated only by the impulse of their own ferocity. Demades, seeing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander,

compared it to the Cyclops,* after his eye was put out. But the Roman empire more resembled the extravagant passions and ravings of the Titans, which the poets tell us of, when it was torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned its arms against itself; not so much through the ambition of the emperors, as the avarice and licentiousness of the soldiers, who drove out one emperor by another.†

Dionysius, the Sicilian, speaking of Alexander of Pheræ, who reigned in Thessaly only ten months, and then was slain, called him, in derision of the sudden change, a theatrical tyrant. But the palace of the Cæsars received four emperors in a less space of time one entering, and another making his exit, as if they had only been acting part upon the stage. The Romans indeed, had one consolation amidst their misfortunes, that they needed no other revenge upon the authors of them than to see them destroy each other; and with the greatest justice of all fell the first, who corrupted the army, and taught them to expect so much upon the change of emperor; thus dishonouring a glorious action by mercenary considerations, and turning the revolt from Nero into treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, who, as we observed

* Polyphemus.

† In the original it is, *as one nail is driven out by another.*

before,* was joined in commission with Tigellinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts, after Nero's affairs were in a desperate state, and it was plain that he intended to retire into Egypt, persuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor, promising every soldier of the prætorian cohorts seven thousand five hundred drachmas, and the troops that were quartered in the provinces twelve hundred and sixty drachmas a man; a sum which it was impossible to collect without doing infinitely more mischief to the empire than Nero had done in his whole reign.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and soon after destroyed Galba himself. They deserted Nero in hopes of receiving the money, and despatched Galba because they did not receive it. Afterwards they sought for another who might pay them that sum, but they ruined themselves by their rebellions and treasons, without gaining what they had been made to expect. To give a complete and exact account of the affairs of those times, belongs to the professed historian. It is, however, in my province to lay before the reader the most remarkable circumstances in the lives of the Cæsars.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man that ever rose to the imperial dignity; but though his extraction was of the noblest, from the family of the Servii, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily left to others the pre-eminence in power. He was also related to Livia, the wife of Augustus, and it was by her interest that he was raised from the office he had in the palace to the dignity of consul. It is said that he acquitted him of his commission in Germany with honour, and that he gained more reputation than most commanders, during his proconsulate in Africa; but his simple parsimonious way of living passed for avarice in an emperor; and the pride he took in economy and strict temperance was out of character.

He was sent governor into Spain by

* In the life of Nero, which is lost.

Nero, before that emperor had learned to fear such of the citizens as had great authority in Rome. Besides, the mildness of his temper and his advanced time of life promised a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers,† a most abandoned set of men, harassed the provinces in the most cruel manner. Galba could not assist them against their persecutors, but his concern for their misfortunes, which appeared not less than if he had been a sufferer himself, afforded them some consolation, even while they were condemned and sold for slaves. Many songs were made upon Nero, and sung everywhere; and as Galba did not endeavour to suppress them, or join the receivers of the revenues in their resentment, that was a circumstance which endeared him still more to the natives; for by this time he had contracted a friendship with them, having long been their governor. He had borne that commission eight years, when Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said that, before this rebellion broke out, Galba had intimations of it in letters from Vindex; but he neither countenanced nor discovered it, as the governors of other provinces did, who sent the letters they had received to Nero, and by that means ruined the project, as far as was in their power. Yet those same governors afterwards joining in the conspiracy against their prince, showed that they could betray not only Vindex, but themselves.

But after Vindex had openly commenced hostilities, he wrote to Galba, desiring him "To accept the imperial dignity, and give a head to the strong Gallic body which so much wanted one; which had no less than a hundred thousand men in arms, and was able to raise a much greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them advised him to wait and see what motions there might be in Rome, or inclinations for a change. But Titus Vinus, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, said, "What room is there, Galba, for deliberation? To inquire whether we shall continue faithful to Nero is to

† *Procuratores*; they had full powers to collect the revenues, and scrupled no acts of oppression in the course of their proceedings.

have revolted already. There is no medium; we must either accept the friendship of Vindex, as if Nero was our declared enemy, or accuse and fight Vindex, because he desires that the Romans should have Galba for their emperor, rather than Nero for their tyrant." Upon this, Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for enfranchising all who should present themselves. The report of this soon drew together a multitude of people who were desirous of a change, and he had no sooner mounted the tribunal than, with one voice, they declared him emperor. He did not immediately accept the title, but accused Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fate of many Romans of great distinction, whom he had barbarously slain: after which he declared, "That he would serve his country with his best abilities, not as Cæsar or emperor, but as lieutenant to the senate and people of Rome."*

That it was a just and rational scheme which Vindex adopted in calling Galba to the empire, there needs no better proof than Nero himself; for though he pretended to look upon the commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the news of Galba's revolt, which he happened to do just after he had bailed, and was sat down to supper, in his madness he overturned the table. However, when the senate had declared Galba an enemy to his country, he affected to despise the danger, and, attempting to be merry upon it, said to his friends, "I have long wanted a pretence to raise money, and this will furnish me with an excellent one. The Gauls, when I have conquered them, will be a fine booty, and, in the meantime, I will seize the estate of Galba, since he is a declared enemy, and dispose of it as I think fit." Accordingly he gave directions that Galba's estate should be sold; which Galba no sooner heard of, than he exposed to sale all that belonged to Nero in Spain, and more readily found purchasers.

The revolt from Nero soon became general, and the governors of provinces

declared for Galba; only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Virginius Rufus in Germany, stood out and acted for themselves, but upon different motives. Clodius being conscious to himself of much rapine and many murders, to which his avarice and cruelty had prompted him, was in a fluctuating state, and could not take his resolution either to assume or reject the imperial title. And Virginius, who commanded some of the best legions in the empire, and had been often pressed by them to take the title of emperor, declared, "That he would neither take it himself, nor suffer it to be given to any other but the person whom the senate should name."

Galba was not a little alarmed at this at first; but after the forces of Virginius and Vindex had overpowered them, like charioteers no longer able to manage the reins, and forced them to fight, Vindex lost twenty thousand Gauls in the battle, and then despatched himself. A report was then current, that the victorious army, in consequence of so great an advantage, would insist that Virginius should accept the imperial dignity, and that, if he refused it, they would turn again to Nero. This put Galba in a great consternation, and he wrote letters to Virginius, exhorting him to act in concert with him, for preserving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which he retired with his friends to Colonia, a city in Spain, and there spent some time, rather in repenting what he had done, and wishing for the life of ease and leisure, to which he had so long been accustomed, than taking any of the necessary steps for his promotion.

It was now the beginning of summer, when one evening, a little before night, one of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily, arrived in seven days from Rome. Being told that Galba was retired to rest, he ran up to his chamber, and having opened it, in spite of the resistance of the chamberlains, informed him, "That as Nero did not appear, though he was living at that time, the army first, and then the people and senate of Rome, had declared Galba emperor; and, not long after, news was brought that Nero was dead. He added, that he was not satisfied with the report, but went and saw the dead body

* Dio Cassius informs us, that this declaration was made nine months and thirteen days before Galba's death, and consequently on the third of April; for he was assassinated on the fifteenth of January in the following year.

of the tyrant before he would set out." Galba was greatly elevated by this intelligence; and he encouraged the multitudes that soon attended at the door by communicating it to them, though the expedition with which it was brought appeared incredible. But, two days after, Titus Vinius, with many others, arrived from the camp, and brought an account of all the proceedings of the senate. Vinius* was promoted to an honourable employment; while the freedman had his name changed from Icelus to Marcianus, was honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and had more attention paid him than any of the other freedmen.

Meantime, at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus got the administration into his hands, not by slow and insensible steps, but with the greatest celerity. He knew that Galba, on account of his great age, being now seventy-three, was scarce able to make the journey to Rome, though carried in a litter. Besides, the forces there had long been inclined to serve him, and now they depended upon him only, considering him as their benefactor on account of the large gratuity he had promised, and Galba as their debtor. He therefore immediately commanded his colleague Tigellinus to give up his sword. He made great entertainments, at which he received persons of consular dignity, and such as had commanded armies and provinces; yet he gave the invitation in the name of Galba. He likewise instructed many of the soldiers to suggest it to the prætorian cohorts, that they should send a message to Galba, demanding that Nymphidius should be always their captain, and without a colleague. The readiness the senate expressed to add to his honour and authority, in calling him their benefactor, in going daily to pay their respects at his gate, and desiring that he would take upon him to propose and confirm every decree, brought him to a much higher pitch of insolence; insomuch

* Vinius was of a prætorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonensis; but when he became the favourite and first minister of the emperor of Rome, he soon made his master obnoxious to the people, and ruined himself. The truth is, he was naturally of a bad disposition, and a man of no principle.

that, in a little time, he became not only obnoxious, but formidable to the very persons that paid their court to him. When the consuls had charged the public messengers with the decrees to be carried to the emperor, and had sealed the instruments with their seal, in order that the magistrates of the towns through which they were to pass, seeing their authority, might furnish them with carriages at every different stage for the great expedition, he resented it, that they had not made use of his seal, and employed his men to carry the despatches. It is said that he even had it under consideration whether he should not punish the consuls; but upon their apologizing and begging pardon for the affront, he was appeased. To ingratiate himself with the people, he did not hinder them from despatching by torture such of Nero's creatures as fell into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under the statues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the *forum* till he died; Aponius, one of the informers, was extended on the ground, and wagons, loaded with stones, driven over him. They tore many others in pieces, and some who were entirely innocent; so that Mauriscus, who had not only the character of one of the best men in Rome, but really deserved it, said one day to the senate, "He was afraid they should soon forget the loss of Nero."

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, was not at all displeased at being called the son of Caius Cæsar, who reigned after Tiberius. It seems that prince, in his youth, had some commerce with his mother, who was daughter of Calistus, one of Cæsar's freedmen, by a sempstress, and who was not wanting in personal charms. But it is evident that the connexion Caius had with her was after the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that he was the son of Martianus the gladiator, whom Nymphidia fell in love with on account of his reputation in his way; besides, his resemblance to the gladiator gave a sanction to that opinion. Be that as it may, he acknowledged himself the son of Nymphidia, and yet insisted that he was the only person who deposed Nero. Not content with the honours and emoluments he enjoyed on that

account, * * * *
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he aspired to the imperial seat, and had his engines privately at work in Rome, in which he employed his friends, with some intriguing women, and some men of consular rank. He sent also Gellianus, one of his friends, into Spain, to act as a spy upon Galba.

After the death of Nero, all things went for Galba according to his wish; only the uncertainty what part Virginius Rufus would act, gave him some uneasiness. Virginius commanded a powerful army, which had already conquered Vindex; and he held in subjection a very considerable part of the Roman empire; for he was master not only of Germany, but Gaul, which was in great agitations, and ripe for a revolt. Galba, therefore, was apprehensive that he would listen to those who offered him the imperial purple. Indeed, there was not an officer of greater name or reputation than Virginius, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of those times; for he had delivered the empire both from tyranny and from a Gallic war. He abode, however, by his first resolution, and reserved the appointment of emperor for the senate. After Nero's death was certainly known, the troops again pressed hard upon Virginius; and one of the tribunes drew his sword in the pavilion, and bade him receive either sovereign power or the steel; but the menace had no effect. At last, after Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an account of the senate's decree, he persuaded his army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba. The new emperor having sent Flaccus Hordeonius as his successor, he received him in that quality, and delivered up his forces to him. He then went to meet Galba, who was on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without finding any marks either of his favour or resentment. The reason of this was, that Galba, on the one hand, considered him in too respectable a light to offer him any injury; and, on the other hand, the emperor's friends, particularly Titus Vinius, were jealous of the progress he might make in his favour. But that

officer was not aware, that, while he was preventing his promotion, he was co-operating with his good genius, in withdrawing him from the wars and calamities in which other generals were engaged, and bringing him to a life of tranquillity full of days and peace.

The ambassadors, which the senate sent to Galba, met him at Narbon, a city of Gaul. There they made their compliments, and advised him to show himself as soon as possible to the people of Rome, who were very desirous to see him. He gave them a kind reception, and entertained them in an agreeable manner. But though Nymphidius had sent him rich vessels, and other furniture suitable to a great prince, which he had taken out of Nero's palace, he made use of none of it; every thing was served up in dishes of his own. This was a circumstance that did him honour, for it showed him a man of superior sentiments, and entirely above vanity. Titus Vinius, however, soon endeavoured to convince him, that these superior sentiments, this modesty and simplicity of manners, betrayed an ambition for popular applause, which real greatness of mind disdains; by which argument he prevailed with him to use Nero's riches, and show all the imperial magnificence at his entertainments. Thus the old man made it appear that in time he would be entirely governed by Vinius.

No man had a greater passion for money than Vinius; nor was any man more addicted to women. While he was yet very young, and making his first campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought the wife of his general, an abandoned prostitute, one night into the camp in a soldier's habit, and lay with her in that part of it which the Romans call *Principia*. For this, Caius Cæsar put him in prison; but he was released upon the death of that prince. Afterwards, happening to sup with Claudius Cæsar, he stole a silver cup. The emperor being informed of it invited him the following evening, but ordered the attendants to serve him with nothing but earthen vessels. This moderation of the emperor seemed to show that the theft was deserving only of ridicule, and not serious resentment; but what he did afterwards, when he had Galba and his revenues at com-

mand, served partly as the cause, and partly as the pretence, for many events of the most tragical kind.

Nymphidius, upon the return of Gellianus, whom he had sent as a spy upon Galba, was informed that Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that all the power would be in the hands of Vinus. This distressed him exceedingly, as he had no opportunity to attend the emperor, or speak to him in private; for his intentions were suspected, and all were on their guard. In this perplexity, he assembled the officers of the prætorian cohorts, and told them, that "Galba was indeed an old man of mild and moderate sentiments; but that, instead of using his own judgment, he was entirely directed by Vinus and Laco, who made a bad use of their power. It is our business, therefore, continued he, "before they insensibly establish themselves, and become sole masters, as Tigellinus was, to send ambassadors to the emperor in the name of all the troops, and to represent to him, that if he removes those two counsellors from his person, he will find a much more agreeable reception amongst the Romans." Nymphidius perceiving that his officers did not approve the proposal, but thought it absurd and preposterous to dictate the choice of friends to an emperor of his age, as they might have done to a boy who now first tasted power, he adopted another scheme. In hopes of intimidating Galba, he pretended sometimes in his letters that there were discontents, and dangers of an insurrection in Rome; sometimes, that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo in Africa on the corn ships. One while he said, the German legions were in motion, and another while that there was the same rebellious disposition amongst those in Syria and Judæa. But as Galba did not give much attention or credit to his advices, he resolved to usurp the imperial title himself before he arrived; though Clodius Celsus, the Antiochian, a sensible man, and one of his best friends, did all in his power to dissuade him; and told him plainly, he did not believe there was one family in Rome that would give him the title of Cæsar. Many others, however, made a jest of Galba; and Mithridates of Pontus, in particu-

lar, making merry with his bald head and wrinkled face, said, "The Romans think him something extraordinary while he is at a distance, but as soon as he arrives, they will consider it as a disgrace to the times to have ever called him Cæsar."

It was resolved, therefore, that Nymphidius should be conducted to the camp at midnight, and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the first tribune, assembled in the evening the troops under his command, and blamed both himself and them, for changing so often in so short a time, not in pursuance of the dictates of reason, or for making a better choice, but because some demonished them on from one treason to another. "The crimes of Nero, indeed," said he, "may justify our first measures. But has Galba murdered his own mother, or his wife? Or has he made you ashamed of your emperor, by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a stage? Yet not even these things brought us to abandon Nero; but Nymphidius first persuaded us that he had abandoned us, and was fled into Egypt. Shall we then sacrifice Galba after Nero; and when we have destroyed the relation of Livia, as well as the son of Agrippina, set the son of Nymphidia on the imperial throne? Or rather, after having taken vengeance on a detestable tyrant in Nero, shall we not show ourselves good and faithful guards to Galba?"

Upon this speech of the tribune, all his men acceded to the proposal. They applied also to their fellow soldiers, and prevailed upon most of them to return to their allegiance. At the same time a loud shout was heard in the camp; and Nymphidius either believing (which is the account that some give us) that the troops were calling him in order to proclaim him emperor, or else hastening to appease the insurrection, and fix such as he found wavering, went with lights to the camp; having in his hand a speech composed for him by Cingonius Varro, which he had committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army. But seeing the gates shut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. However, advancing nearer, he asked them, "What they intended to do, and by whose

command they were under arms?" They answered, one and all, "That they acknowledged no other emperor but Galba." Then pretending to enter into their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and ordered those that accompanied him to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and suffering him to enter with a few of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who went before, received upon his shield. But, others drawing their swords, he fled, and was pursued into a soldier's hut, where they despatched him. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp, where they enclosed it with pales, and exposed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus taken off, Galba was no sooner informed of it than he ordered such of his accomplices as had not already despatched themselves, to be put to death. Amongst these was Cingonius who composed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. In this the emperor did not proceed according to the laws and customs of the Romans; nor was it indeed a popular measure to inflict capital punishment upon persons of eminence, without any form of trial, though they might deserve death; for the Romans, deceived, as it usually happens, by the first reports, now expected another kind of government. But what afflicted them most, was the order he sent for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity, merely because he had been faithful to Nero. There was some pretence for taking off Macer in Africa, by means of Trebonianus, and Fonteius in Germany by Valens, because they were in arms, and had forces that he might be afraid of. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a defenceless old man, should not have a hearing, at least under a prince who should have preserved in his actions the moderation he so much affected. Such complaints there were against Galba on this subject.

When he was about five-and-twenty furlongs from the city, he found the way stopped by a disorderly parcel of seamen, who gathered about him on all sides.* These were persons whom

* Dio Cassius tells us, (lib. lxxiv.) that seven thousand of the disarmed multitude

Nero had formed into a legion, that they might act as soldiers. They now met him on the road to have their establishment confirmed, and crowded the emperor so much, that he could neither be seen nor heard by those who came to wait on him; for they insisted, in a clamorous manner, on having legionary colours and quarters assigned them. Galba put them off to another time; but they considered that as a denial; and some of them even drew their swords: upon which he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no resistance, but fled with the utmost precipitation, and many of them were killed in their flight. It was considered as an inauspicious circumstance for Galba to enter the city amidst so much blood and slaughter. And those who despised him before as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and horror.

Besides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profusion with which money used to be given away by Nero, he missed the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the excellence of his music, he ordered his purse to be brought, and taking out a few pieces of gold,† gave them to Canus, telling him, at the same time, that this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money. As for the money which Nero had given to the persons that pleased him on the stage, or in the *palestra*, he insisted with great rigour that it should be all returned, except a tenth part. And as persons of such dissolute lives, who mind nothing but a provision for the day, could produce very little, he caused inquiry to be made for all who had bought anything of them, or received presents, and obliged them to refund. This affair extended to great

were cut to pieces on the spot; and others were committed to prison, where they lay till the death of Galba.

† Suetonius says, Galba gave him five denarii. But at that time there were denarii of gold. That writer adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occasion, was more splendidly served than usual, he could not forbear sighing, and expressing his dissatisfaction in a manner inconsistent with common decency

numbers of people, and seeming to have no end, it reflected disgrace upon the emperor, and brought the public envy and hatred on Vinus, because he made the emperor sordid and mean to others, while he pillaged the treasury himself in the most insatiable manner, and took and sold whatever he thought proper.

In short, as Hesiod says,

Spare not the full cask, nor, when shallow
streams

Declare the bottom near, withdraw your hand.

So Vinus, seeing Galba old and infirm, drank freely of the favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet, at the same time, drawing to an end.*

But the aged emperor was greatly injured by Vinus, not only through his neglect or misapplication of things committed to his trust, but by his condemning or defeating the most salutary intentions of his master. This was the case with respect to the punishing Nero's ministers. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death, among whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The people expressed their joy by loud plaudits, when these were led through the *forum* to the place of execution, and called it a glorious and holy procession. But both gods and men, they said, demanded the punishment of Tigellinus who suggested the very worst measures, and taught Nero his tyranny. That *worthy* minister, however, had secured himself by great presents to Vinus, which were only earnest of still greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only because he had not betrayed or hated his master, on account of his bad qualities, and though guilty of no remarkable crime, was, notwithstanding, put to death; while the man who had made Nero unfit to live, and, after he had made him such, deserted and betrayed him, lived and flourished: a proof that there was nothing which Vinus would not sell,

* Thus, in the court of Galba appeared all the extortions of Nero's reign. They were equally grievous, (says Tacitus) but not equally excused, in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had himself the greatest integrity of heart; but as the rapacity and other excesses of his ministers were imputed to him, he was no less hated than if he had committed them himself.

and that no man had reason to despair who had money. For there was no sight which the people of Rome so passionately longed for, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution; and in the theatre and the *circus* they continually demanded it, till at last the emperor checked them by an edict, importing, that Tigellinus was in a deep consumption, which would destroy him ere long, and that their sovereign entreated them not to turn his government into a tyranny by needless acts of severity.

The people were highly displeased; but the miscreants only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered sacrifice in acknowledgment to the gods for his recovery, and provided a great entertainment; and Vinus rose from the emperor's table to go and carouse with Tigellinus, accompanied by his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and said, "I will make this cup worth two hundred and fifty thousand *drachmas* to you." At the same time he ordered his chief mistress to take off her own necklace and give it her. This was said to be worth a hundred and fifty thousand more.

From this time the most moderate of Galba's proceedings were misrepresented.† For instance, his lenity to the Gauls, who had conspired with Vindex, did not escape censure. For it was believed that they had not gained a remission of tribute and the freedom of Rome from the emperor's indulgence, but that they purchased them of Vinus. Hence the people had a general aversion to Galba's administration. As for the soldiers, though they did not receive what had been promised them, they let it pass, hoping that, if they had not that gratuity, they should certainly have as much as Nero had given them. But when they began to murmur, and their complaints were brought to Galba, he said, what well became a great prince, "That it was

† Though the rest of Galba's conduct was not blameless, yet (according to Suetonius and Zonaras) he kept the soldiers to their duty; he punished with the utmost severity those who, by their false accusations, had occasioned the death of innocent persons; he delivered up to punishment such slaves as had borne witness against their masters; and he recalled those who had been banished by Nero under pretence of treason.

his custom to choose, not to buy his soldiers." This saying, however, being reported to the troops, filled them with the most deadly and irreconcilable hatred to Galba; for it seemed to them that he not only wanted to deprive them of the gratuity himself, but to set a precedent for future emperors.

The disaffection to the government that prevailed in Rome was as yet kept secret in some measure, partly because some remaining reverence for the presence of the emperor prevented the flame of sedition from breaking out, and partly for want of an open occasion to attempt a change. But the troops which had served under Virginius, and were now commanded by Flaccus in Germany, thinking they deserved great things for the battle which they fought with Vindex, and finding that they obtained nothing, began to behave in a very refractory manner, and could not be appeased by their officers. Their general himself they utterly despised, as well on account of his inactivity (for he had the gout in a violent manner) as his want of experience in military affairs. One day, at some public games, when the tribunes and centurions, according to custom, made vows for the happiness of the emperor, the common soldiers murmured; and when the officers repeated their good wishes, they answered, "If he is worthy."

The legions that were under the command of Tigellinus behaved with equal insolence; of which Galba's agents wrote him an account. He was now apprehensive, that it was not only his age, but his want of children, that brought him into contempt: and therefore he formed a design to adopt some young man of noble birth, and declare him his successor. Marcus Otho was of a family by no means obscure; but, at the same time, he was more remarkable from his infancy for luxury and love of pleasure than most of the Roman youth. And, as Homer often calls Paris, *the husband of the beautiful Helen*, because he had nothing else to distinguish him, so Otho was noted in Rome as the husband of Poppæa. This was the lady whom Nero fell in love with while she was wife to Crispinus; but retaining as yet some respect for his own wife, and some reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho

to solicit her. For Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion, and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what he called his avarice and sordid manner of living.

We are told, that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with a very rich essence, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho invited the emperor the day following, when suddenly gold and silver pipes opened on all sides of the apartment, and poured out essences for them in as much plenty as if it had been water. He applied to Poppæa, according to Nero's desire, and first seduced her for him, with the flattering idea of having an emperor for her lover; after which he persuaded her to leave her husband. But when he took her home as his own wife, he was not so happy in having her, as miserable in the thought of sharing her with another. And Poppæa is said not to have been displeased with this jealousy; for it seems she refused to admit Nero when Otho was absent; whether it was that she studied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or whether (as some say) she did not choose to receive the emperor as a husband, but, in her wanton way, took more pleasure in having him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life, therefore, was in great danger on account of that marriage; and it is astonishing, that the man who could sacrifice his wife and sister for the sake of Poppæa, should afterwards spare Otho.

But Otho had a friend in Seneca; and it was he who persuaded Nero to send him out governor of Lusitania, upon the borders of the ocean. Otho made himself agreeable to the inhabitants by his lenity; for he knew that this command was given him only as a more honourable exile.* Upon Galba's revolt, he was the first governor of a province that came over to him, and he carried with him all the gold and silver vessels he had, to be melted down and coined for his use. He likewise presented him with such of his servants as knew best how to wait upon

* On this occasion the following distich was made:

Cur Otho mentito sit quæritis exul honore;
Uxoris mæchus cæperat esse suæ.

an emperor. He behaved to him, indeed, in all respects with great fidelity; and it appeared from the specimen he gave, that there was no department in the government for which he had not talents. He accompanied him in his whole journey, and was many days in the same carriage with him; during all which time he lost no opportunity to pay his court to Vinus, either by assiduities or presents; and as he always took care to leave him the first place, he was secure by his means of having the second. Besides that there was nothing invidious in this station, he recommended himself by granting his favours and services without reward, and by his general affability and politeness. He took most pleasure in serving the officers of the army, and obtaining governments for many of them, partly by applications to the emperor, and partly to Vinus and his freedmen, Icelus and Asiaticus, for these had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba visited him, he complimented the company of guards that was upon duty with a piece of gold for each man; thus practising upon and gaining the soldiers, while he seemed only to be doing honour to their master. When Galba was deliberating on the choice of a successor, Vinus proposed Otho. Nor was this a disinterested overture, for Otho had promised to marry Vinus's daughter, after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his successor. But Galba always showed that he preferred the good of the public to any private considerations; and in this case he sought not for the man who might be most agreeable to himself, but one who promised to be the greatest blessing to the Romans. Indeed it can hardly be supposed that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expensive and profuse he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions of drachmas. He therefore gave Vinus a patient hearing, without returning him any answer, and put off the affair to another time. However, as he declared himself consul, and chose Vinus for his colleague, it was supposed that he would appoint a successor at the beginning of the next year, and the soldiers wished that Otho might be the man.

But while Galba delayed the appointment and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany. All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, because they had not received the promised donations, but those in Germany had a particular apology for their aversion. They alleged, "That Virginius Rufus, their general, had been removed with ignominy, and that the Gauls, who had fought against them, were the only people that were rewarded; whilst all who had not joined Vindex were punished, and Galba, as if he had obligations to none but him for the imperial diadem, honoured his memory with sacrifices and public libations."

Such speeches as this were common in the camp, when the calends of January were at hand, and Flaccus assembled the soldiers, that they might take the customary oath of fealty to the emperor. But, instead of that, they overturned and broke to pieces the statues of Galba, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, they retired to their tents. Their officers were now as apprehensive of anarchy as rebellion, and the following speech is said to have been made on the occasion: "What are we doing, my fellow-soldiers? We neither appoint another emperor, nor keep our allegiance to the present, as if we had renounced not only Galba, but every other sovereign, and all manner of obedience. It is true, Hardeonius Flaccus is no more than the shadow of Galba; let us quit him. But at the distance of one day's march only, there is Vitellius, who commands in the Lower Germany, whose father was censor and thrice consul, and in a manner colleague to the emperor Claudius; and though his poverty may be a circumstance for which some people may despise him, it is a strong proof of his probity and greatness of mind. Let us go and declare him emperor, and show the world that we know how to choose a person for that high dignity better than the Spaniards and Lusitanians."

Some approved, and others rejected this motion. One of the standard-bearers, however, marched off privately and carried the news to Vitellius that night. He found him at table, for he

was giving a great entertainment to his officers. The news soon spread through the army, and Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the legions, went next day at the head of a considerable party of horse, and saluted Vitellius emperor. For some days before, he seemed to dread the weight of sovereign power, and totally to decline it; but now being fortified with the indulgences of the table, to which he had sat down at mid-day, he went out and accepted the title of Germanicus, which the army conferred upon him, though he refused that of Caesar. Soon after, Flaccus's troops forgot the republican oaths they had taken to the senate and people, and swore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As soon as Galba was informed of the insurrection there, he resolved, without further delay, to proceed to the adoption. He knew some of his friends were for Dolabella, and a still greater number for Otho; but without being guided by the judgment of either party, or making the least mention of his design, he sent suddenly for Piso the son of Crassus and Scribonia, who were put to death by Nero: a young man formed by nature for every virtue, and distinguished for his modesty and sobriety of manners. In pursuance of his intentions, he went down with him to the camp, to give him the title of Cæsar, and declare him his successor. But he was no sooner out of his palace, than very inauspicious presages appeared; and in the camp, when he delivered a speech to the army, reading some parts and pronouncing others from memory, the many claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, the violent rain that fell, and the darkness that covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not admit of the adoption, and that the issue would be unfortunate. The countenances of the soldiers too were black and lowering, because there was no donation even on that occasion.*

As to Piso, all that were present could not but wonder, that, so far as

they could conjecture from his voice and look, he was not disconcerted with so great an honour, though he did not receive it without sensibility.† On the contrary, in Otho's countenance there appeared strong marks of resentment, and of the impatience with which he bore the disappointment of his hopes; for his failing of that honour which he had been thought worthy to aspire to, and which he lately believed himself very near attaining, seemed a proof of Galba's hatred and ill intentions to him. He was not, therefore, without apprehensions of what might befall him afterwards; and dreading Galba, execrating Piso, and full of indignation against Vinus, he retired with this confusion of passions in his heart; but the Chaldeans and other diviners, whom he had always about him, would not suffer him entirely to give up his hopes, or abandon his design. In particular he relied on Ptolemy, because he had formerly predicted that he should not fall by the hand of Nero, but survive him, and live to ascend the imperial throne; for, as the former part of the prophecy proved true, he thought he had no reason to despair of the latter. None, however, exasperated him more against Galba than those who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he had been treated with great ingratitude. Besides, there was a number of people that had flourished under Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and now lived in poverty and disgrace, who, to recommend themselves to Otho, expressed great indignation at the slight he had suffered, and urged him to revenge it. Amongst these were Veturius, who was *optio*, or centurion's deputy, and Barbius, who was *tesserarius*, or one of those that carry the word from the tribunes to the centurions.‡ Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting some with money and others with promises. Indeed, they were corrupt enough already, and wanted only an opportunity to put their designs in execution. It

† See an excellent speech which Tacitus ascribes to Galba on this occasion.

‡ The way of setting the nightly guard was by a *tessera*, or tally, with a particular inscription, given from one centurion to another, quite through the army, till it came again to the tribune who first delivered it.

* Tacitus tells us, that a little exertion of liberality would have gained the army; and that Galba suffered by an unseasonable attention to the purity of ancient times.

they had not been extremely disaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in so short a space of time as that of four days, which was all that passed between the adoption and the assassination; for Piso and Galba were both slain the sixth day after, which was the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba sacrificed in the palace in presence of his friends. Umbrius, the diviner, no sooner took the entrails in his hands than he declared, not in enigmatical expressions, but plainly that there were signs of great troubles and of treason that threatened immediate danger to the emperor. Thus Otho was almost delivered up to Galba by the hand of the gods; for he stood behind the emperor, listening with great attention to the observations made by Umbrius. These put him in great confusion, his fears were discovered by his change of colour, when his freedman Onomastus came and told him that the architects were come, and waited for him at his house. This was the signal for Otho's meeting the soldiers. He pretended, therefore, that he had bought an old house, which these architects were to examine, and going down by what is called Tiberius's palace, went to that part of the forum where stands the gilded pillar which terminates all the great roads in Italy.*

The soldiers who received him, and saluted him emperor, are said not to have been more than twenty-three. So that, though he had nothing of that dastardly spirit which the delicacy of his constitution and the effeminacy of his life seemed to declare; but, on the contrary, was firm and resolute in time of danger; yet, on this occasion, he was intimidated and wanted to retire; but the soldiers would not suffer it. They surrounded the chair† with drawn swords, and insisted on its proceeding to the camp. Meantime Otho desired the bearers to make haste, often declaring that he was a lost man. There were some who overheard him, and they rather wondered at the hardness of the

attempt with so small a party than disturbed themselves about the consequences. As he was carried through the forum, about the same number as the first joined him, and others afterward by three or four at a time. The whole party then saluted him *Cæsar*, and conducted him to the camp, flourishing their swords before him. *Martialis*, the tribune who kept guard that day, knowing nothing (as they tell us) of the conspiracy, was surprised and terrified at so unexpected a sight, and suffered them to enter. When Otho was within the camp, he met with no resistance, for the conspirators gathered about such as were strangers to the design, and made it their business to explain it to them; upon which they joined them by one or two at a time, first out of fear, and afterwards out of choice.

The news was immediately carried to Galba, while the diviner yet attended, and had the entrails in his hands; so that they who had been most incredulous in matters of divination, and even held it in contempt before, were astonished at the divine interposition in the accomplishment of this presage. People of all sorts now crowding from the forum to the palace, *Vinius* and *Laco*, with some of the emperor's freedmen, stood before him with drawn swords to defend him. *Piso* went out to speak to the life-guards, and *Marius Celsus*, a man of great courage and honour, was sent to secure the *Illyrian* legion, which lay in *Vipsanius's* portico.

Galba was inclined to go out to the people. *Vinius* endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but *Celsus* and *Laco* encouraged him to go on, and expressed themselves with some sharpness against *Vinius*. Meantime a strong report prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp; soon after which, *Julius Atticus*, a soldier of some note amongst the guards, came up, and crying that he was the man that had killed *Cæsar's* enemy, made his way through the crowd, and showed his bloody sword to Galba. The emperor, fixing his eye upon him, said, "Who gave you orders?" He answered, "My allegiance and the oath I had taken;" and the people expressed their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba then went out in a sedan chair, with a design to sacri-

* This pillar was set up by Augustus, when he took the highways under his inspection, and had the distances of places from Rome marked upon it.

† Suetonius says, he got into a woman's sedan, in order to be the better concealed.

fice to Jupiter, and show himself to the people; but he had no sooner entered the forum than the rumour changed like the wind, and news met him that Otho was master of the camp. On this occasion, as it was natural amongst a multitude of people, some called out to him to advance and some to retire; some to take courage, and some to be cautious. His chair was tossed backward and forward, as in a tempest, and ready to be overset, when there appeared first a party of horse, and then another of foot, issuing from the *Basilica* of Paulus, and crying out, "Away with this private man!" Numbers were then running about, not to separate by flight, but to possess themselves of the porticos and eminences about the forum, as it were to enjoy some public spectacle. Atilius Virgilio beat down one of Galba's statues, which served as a signal for hostilities, and they attacked the chair on all sides with javelins; as those did not despatch him, they advanced sword in hand. In this time of trial none stood up in his defence but one man, who, indeed, amongst so many millions was the only one that did honour to the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus,* a centurion, who, without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, stood forth to defend the chair. First of all he lifted up the vinebranch, with which the centurions chastise such as deserve stripes, and then called out to the soldiers who were pressing on, and commanded them to spare the emperor. They fell upon him, notwithstanding, and he drew his sword and fought a long time, till he received a stroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the Curtian lake, and Galba tumbling out of it, they ran to despatch him; at the same time he presented his throat, and said, "Strike, if it be for the good of Rome." He received many strokes upon his arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body.

* In the Greek text it is *Indistrus*; but that text (as we observed before) in the life of Galba, is extremely corrupt. We have therefore given *Densus* from Tacitus; as *Virgilio*, instead of *Sercello*, above.

According to most accounts, it was Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion that despatched him; though some say it was Terentius, some Arcadius,† and others Fabius Fabulus. They add, that when Fabius had cut off his head, he wrapped it up in the skirt of his garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it. His associates, however, would not suffer him to conceal it, but insisted that he should let the world see what an exploit he had performed; he therefore fixed it upon the point of his spear, and swinging about the head of a venerable old man, and a mild prince, who was both *Pontifex Maximus* and consul, he ran on, (like the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus) brandishing his spear that was dyed in the blood that trickled from it.

When the head was presented to Otho, he cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow soldiers, show me the head of Piso." It was brought not long after; for that young prince being wounded, and pursued by one Murcus, was killed by him at the gates of the temple of Vesta. Vinus also was put to the sword, though he declared himself an accomplice in the conspiracy, and protested that it was against Otho's orders that he suffered. However, they cut off his head, and that of Laco, and carrying them to Otho, demanded their reward: for, as Archilochus says:—

We bring seven warriors only to your tent,
Yet thousands of us kill'd them.

So in this case many who had no share in the action, bathed their hands and swords in the blood, and showing them to Otho petitioned for their reward. It appeared afterwards from the petitions given in, that the number of them was a hundred and twenty; and Vitellius, having searched them out, put them all to death. Marius Celsus also coming to the camp, many accused him of having exhorted the soldiers to stand by Galba, and the bulk of the army insisted that he should suffer; but Otho being desirous to save him, and yet afraid of contradicting them, told them, "He did not choose to have him exe-

† In Tacitus, *Lecanius*. That historian makes no mention of Fabius.

cuted so soon, because he had several important questions to put to him." He ordered him, therefore, to be kept in chains, and delivered him to persons in whom he could best confide.

The senate was immediately assembled; and as if they were become different men, or had other gods to swear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, but had not kept; and they gave him the titles of Caesar and Augustus, while the bodies of those that had been beheaded lay in their consular robes in the *forum*. As for the heads, the soldiers after they had no farther use for them, sold that of Vinius to his daughter for two thousand five hundred *drachmas*. Piso's was given to his wife Verania, at her request;* and Galba's to the servants of Patrobius and Vitellius,† who, after they had treated it with the utmost insolence and outrage, threw it into a place called *Sestertium*,‡ where the bodies of those are cast that are put to death by the emperors. Galba's corpse was carried away by Helvidius Priscus, with Otho's permission, and buried in the night by his freedman Argius.

Such is the history of Galba; a man who, in the points of family and fortune

distinctly considered, was exceeded by few of the Romans, and who, in the union of both was superior to all. He had lived, too, in great honour, and with the best reputation, under five emperors; and it was rather by his character than by force of arms that he deposed Nero. As to the rest who conspired against the tyrant, some of them were thought unworthy of the imperial diadem by the people, and others thought themselves unworthy. But Galba was invited to accept it, and only followed the sense of those who called him to that high dignity; nay, when he gave the sanction of his name to Vindex, that which before was called rebellion was considered only as a civil war, because a man of princely talents was then at the head of it. So that he did not so much want the empire as the empire wanted him; and with these principles he attempted to govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus governed the Romans of their times. Notwithstanding his great age, he showed himself a chief worthy of ancient Rome through all the military department; but, in the civil administration, he delivered himself up to Vinius, to Laco, and to his enfranchised slaves, who sold everything in the same manner as Nero had left all to his insatiable vermin. The consequence of this was, that no man regretted him as an emperor, though almost all were moved with pity at his miserable fate.

* Tacitus (lib. i.) says, she purchased it.

† Galba had put Patrobius to death; but we know not why the servants of Vitellius should desire to treat Galba's remains with any indignity.

‡ Lipsius says, it was so called *quasi sestertium*, as being two miles and a half from the city.



OTHO.

THE new emperor went early in the morning to the capitol, and sacrificed; after which he ordered Marius Celsus to be brought before him. He received that officer with great marks of his regard, and desired him rather to forget the cause of his confinement than to remember his release. Celsus neither showed any meanness in his acknowledgments, nor any want of gratitude. He said, "The very charge brought against him bore witness to his character; since he was accused only of having been faithful to Galba, from whom he had never received any personal obligations." All who were present at the audience admired both the emperor and Celsus, and the soldiers in particular testified their approbation.*

Otho made a mild and gracious speech to the senate. The remaining time of his consulship he divided with Verginius Rufus, and he left those who had been appointed to that dignity by

* Otho exempted the soldiers from the fees which they had paid the centurions for furloughs and other immunities; but at the same time promised to satisfy the centurions, on all reasonable occasions, out of his own revenue. In consequence of these furloughs the fourth part of a legion was often absent, and the troops became daily more and more corrupted.

Nero and Galba to enjoy it in their course. Such as were respectable for their age and character he promoted to the priesthood; and to those senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba, he restored all their goods and estates that he found unsold. So that the first and best of the citizens, who had before not considered him as a man, but dreaded him as a fury or destroying demon that had suddenly seized the seat of government, now entertained more pleasing hopes from so promising a beginning.

But nothing gave the people in general so high a pleasure,† or contributed so much to gain him their affections, as his punishing Tigellinus. It is true he had long suffered under the fear of punishment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, and under a complication of incurable distempers. These, together with his infamous connexions with the worst of prostitutes, into which his passions drew him, though almost in the arms of death, were considered by the thinking part of mankind as the greatest of punishments, and worse than many deaths, yet it was a pain to the common people that he should see the light of the sun,

† In the close of the day on which he was inaugurated, he put Laco and Icelus to death.

after so many excellent men had been deprived of it through his means. He was then at his country house near Sinuessa, and had vessels at anchor, ready to carry him on occasion to some distant country. Otho sent to him there; and he first attempted to bribe the messenger with large sums to suffer him to escape. When he found that did not take effect, he gave him the money notwithstanding; and desiring only to be indulged a few moments till he had shaved himself, he took the razor and cut his own throat.

Besides this just satisfaction that Otho gave the people, it was a most agreeable circumstance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he suffered them also at first to give him in the theatres the name of Nero, and he made no opposition to those who erected publicly the statues of that emperor. Nay, Claudius* Rufus tells us that, in the letters with which the couriers were sent to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho; but perceiving that the nobility were offended, he made use of it no more.

After his government was thus established, the prætorian cohorts gave him no small trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many persons of rank, and to forbid them the court; whether it was their affection made them really apprehensive for him, or whether it was only a colour for raising commotions and wars. One day the emperor himself had sent Crispinus orders to bring the seventeenth cohort from Ostia, and in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as soon as it grew dark, and to pack up the arms in wagons. Upon which, some of the most turbulent cried out, that Crispinus was come with no good intention, that the senate had some design against the government, and that the arms he was going to carry were to be made use of against Cæsar, not for him. This notion soon spread, and exasperated numbers; some laid hold on the wagons, while others killed two centurions

who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, and Crispinus himself. Then the whole party armed, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's assistance, they marched straight to Rome. Being informed there that eighty senators supported with him that evening, they hastened to the palace, saying, then was the time to crush all Cæsar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be plundered immediately. The palace, too, was in the utmost confusion, and Otho himself in unspeakable distress; for he was under fear and concern for the senators, while they were afraid of him; and he saw they kept their eyes fixed upon him in silence and extreme consternation; some having even brought their wives with them to supper. He therefore ordered the principal officers of the guards to go and speak to the soldiers and endeavour to appease them, and at the same time sent out his guests at another door. They had scarce made their escape when the soldiers rushed into the room, and asked what was become of the enemies of Cæsar. The emperor then rising from his couch, used many arguments to satisfy them, and by entreaties and tears at last prevailed upon them with much difficulty to desist.

Next day, having presented the soldiers with twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a man, he entered the camp. On this occasion he commended the troops as in general well affected to his government, but at the same time he told them there were some designing men amongst them, who by their cabals brought his moderation and their fidelity both into question; these, he said, deserved their resentment, and he hoped they would assist him in punishing them. They applauded his speech, and desired him to chastise whatever persons he thought proper; but he pitched upon two only for capital punishment, whom no man could possibly regret, and then returned to his palace.

Those who had conceived an affection for Otho and placed a confidence in him admired this change in his conduct; but others thought it was no more than a piece of policy which the times necessarily required, and that he assumed a popular behaviour on account of the impending war. For now he had undoubted intelligence that Vi-

* This writer, who was a man of consular dignity, and succeeded Galba in the government of Spain, was not called *Claudius* but *Claudius Rufus*.

tellius had taken the title of emperor and all the ensigns of supreme power, and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other messengers also arrived, with accounts that the forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their generals, had declared for Otho; and a few days after, he received obliging letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who both commanded numerous armies, the one in Syria, and the other in Judea.

Elated with this intelligence, he wrote to Vitellius, advising him not to aspire to things above his rank, and promised in case he desisted, to supply him liberally with money, and give him a city in which he might spend his days in pleasure and repose. Vitellius at first gave him an answer, in which ridicule was tempered with civility; but afterwards, being both thoroughly exasperated, they wrote to each other in a style of the bitterest invective. Not that their mutual reproaches were groundless, but it was absurd for the one to insult the other with what might with equal justice be objected to both; for their charges consisted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity for war, their former poverty, and immense debts; such articles that it is hard to say which of them had the advantage.

As to the stories of prodigies and apparitions at that time, many of them were founded upon vague reports that could not be traced to their author. But in the capitol there was a victory mounted upon a chariot, and numbers of people saw her let the reins fall out of her hands, as if she had lost the power to hold them; and in the island of the Tyber, the statue of Julius Cæsar turned from west to east, without either earthquake or whirlwind to move it; a circumstance which is said likewise to have happened when Vespasian openly took upon him the direction of affairs. The inundation of the Tyber too, was considered by the populace as a bad omen. It was at a time, indeed, when rivers usually overflow their banks; but the flood never rose so high before, nor was so ruinous in its effects; for now it laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn market, and caused a famine which continued for some days.

About this time news was brought

that Cecina and Valens, who acted for Vitellius, had seized the passes of the Alps. And in Rome Dolabella, who was of an illustrious family, was suspected by the guards of some disloyal design. Otho, either fearing him or some other whom he could influence, sent him to Acquinum, with assurances of friendly treatment. When the emperor came to select the officers that were to attend him on his march, he appointed Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, to be of the number, without either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took also particular care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to put them in a situation where they had nothing to fear. The government of Rome he gave Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian; either with an intention to do honour to Nero (for he had formerly given him that appointment, and Galba had deprived him of it,) or else to show his affection to Vespasian by promoting his brother.

Otho himself stopped at Brixillum, a town in Italy near the Po, and ordered the army to march on under the conduct of his lieutenants, Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus, and Spurina, officers of great reputation. But they could not pursue the plan of operations they had formed, by reason of the obstinacy and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers, who declared that *they* had made the emperor, and they would be commanded by him only. The enemy's troops were not under much better discipline; they, too, were refractory and disobedient to their officers, and on the same account. Yet they had seen service, and were accustomed to fatigue; whereas Otho's men had been used to idleness, and their manner of living was quite different from that in the field; indeed, they had spent most of their time at public spectacles and the entertainments of the theatre, and were come to that degree of insolence that they did not pretend to be unable to perform the services they were ordered upon, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to use compulsion, was in danger of being killed by them. They spared no manner of abuse, calling him traitor, and telling him that it was he who ruined the affairs of Cæsar,

and purposely missed the fairest opportunities. Some of them came in the night intoxicated with liquor to his tent, and demanded their discharge, "For they had to go," they said, "to Cæsar, to accuse him."

The cause, however, and Spurina with it, received some benefit from the insult which these troops met with at Placentia. Those of Vitellius came up to the walls and ridiculed Otho's men who were appointed to defend them; calling them players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games; fellows who knew nothing of war, who had not even made one campaign, who were swoln up with pride merely because they had cut off the head of a poor unarmed old man (meaning Galba); wretches that durst not look men in the face, or stand anything like a fair and open battle. They were so cut with these reproaches, and so desirous of revenge, that they threw themselves at Spurina's feet, and begged of him to command and employ them on whatever service he thought proper, assuring him that there was neither danger nor labour which they would decline. After this, the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the town, and plied their battering engines with all their force; but Spurina's men repulsed them with great slaughter, and by that means kept possession of one of the most respectable and most flourishing towns in Italy.

It must be observed of Otho's officers in general, that they were more obliging in their behaviour both to cities and private persons than those of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular either in his address or his figure. He was of a gigantic size and most uncouth appearance; for he wore breeches and long sleeves in the manner of the Gauls, even while his standard was Roman, and whilst he gave his instructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horseback, in a rich dress, and was attended by a select party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had a passion for money, which was not to be satisfied by any plunder from the enemy or exactions and contributions from the allies. Insomuch that he was believed to proceed more slowly for the sake of collecting gold as he went, and there-

fore was not up at the first action. Some, indeed, accuse Cecina of hastening to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be all his own; and, beside other less faults, they charged him not only with attacking at an unseasonable time, but with not maintaining the combat so gallantly as he ought to have done; all which errors nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulse at Placentia, marched against Cremona, another rich and great city. In the meantime Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurina at Placentia, had intelligence by the way that he was victorious, and that the siege was raised. But being informed at the same time that Cremona was in danger, he led his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Afterwards other officers brought in reinforcements. Cecina posted a strong body of infantry under cover of some trees and thickets; after which, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and if the enemy attacked them, to give way by degrees, and retire, till they had drawn them into the ambuscade. But Celsus being informed of his intention by some deserters, advanced with his best cavalry against Cecina's troops; and, upon their retreating, he pursued with so much caution, that he surrounded the corps that lay in ambush. Having thus put them in confusion, he called the legions from the camp; and it appears, that if they had come up in time to support the horse, Cecina's whole army would have been cut in pieces. But as Paulinus advanced very slowly,* he was censured for having used more precaution than became a general of his character. Nay, the soldiers accused him of treachery, and endeavoured to incense Otho against him, insisting that the victory was in their hands, and that if it was not complete, it was owing entirely to the mismanagement of their generals. Otho did not

* Tacitus tells us, that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute. On this occasion he charges him with two errors. The first was, that, instead of advancing immediately to the charge, and supporting his cavalry, he trifled away the time in filling up the trenches; the second, that he did not avail himself of the disorder of the enemy, but sounded much too early a retreat.

so much believe these representations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his brother Titianus to the army, with Proculus the captain of his guard; Titianus had the command in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celsus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy, too, were not without their dissatisfactions and disorder, particularly amongst the forces of Valens; for when they were informed of what happened at the ambuscade, they expressed their indignation that their general did not put it in their power to be there, that they might have used their endeavours to save so many brave men who perished in that action. They were even inclined to despatch him; but having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped and joined Cecina.

In the meantime Otho came to the camp at Bedriacum, a small town near Cremona, and there held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of opinion, "That he ought to give battle, while the army retained those high spirits with which the late victory had inspired them, and not suffer that ardour to cool, nor wait till Vitellius came in person from Gaul." But Paulinus was against it. "The enemy," said he, "have received all their troops, and have no farther preparations to make for the combat; whereas Otho will have from Mysia and Pannonia forces as numerous as those he has already, if he will wait his own opportunity, instead of giving one to the enemy. And certainly the army he now has, if with their small numbers they have so much ardour, will not fight with less but greater spirit when they see their numbers so much increased. Besides, the gaining of time makes for us, because we have everything in abundance, but delays must greatly distress Cecina and his colleague for necessities, because they lie in an enemy's country."

Marius Celsus supported the opinion of Paulinus. Annias Gallus could not attend, because he had received some hurt by a fall from his horse, and was under cure. Otho therefore wrote to him, and Gallus advised him not to pre-

cipitate matters, but to wait for the army from Mysia, which was already on the way. Otho, however, would not be guided by these counsels, and the opinion of those prevailed who were for hazarding a battle immediately. Different reasons are, indeed, alleged for this resolution. The most probable is, that the prætorian cohorts, which composed the emperor's guards, now coming to taste what real war was, longed to be once more at a distance from it, to return to the ease, the company, and public diversions of Rome; and therefore they could not be restrained in their eagerness for a battle, for they imagined that they could overpower the enemy at the first charge. Besides, Otho seems to have been no longer able to support himself in a state of suspense; such an aversion to the thoughts of danger had his dissipation and effeminacy given him! Overburdened then by his cares, he hastened to free himself from their weight; he covered his eyes, and leaped down the precipice; he committed all at once to fortune. Such is the account given of the matter by the orator Secundus, who was Otho's secretary.

Others say, that the two parties were much inclined to lay down their arms, and unite in choosing an emperor out of the best generals they had; or, if they could not agree upon it, to leave the election to the senate. Nor is it improbable, as the two who were called emperors were neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and prudent part of the soldiers should form such a design; for they could not but reflect how unhappy and dreadful a thing it would be to plunge themselves into the same calamities, which the Romans could not bring upon each other without aching hearts, in the quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæsar and Pompey; and for what? but to provide an empire to minister to the insatiable appetite and the drunkenness of Vitellius, or to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho. These considerations are supposed to have induced Celsus to endeavour to gain time, in hopes that matters might be compromised without the sword; while Otho, out of fear of such an agreement, hastened the battle.

In the meantime he returned to Brix-

illum,* which certainly was an additional error; for by that step he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation which his presence might have inspired, and took a considerable limb from the body of the army, I mean some of the best and most active men, both horse and foot, for his bodyguard. There happened about that time a rencontre upon the Po, while Cecina's troops endeavoured to lay a bridge over that river, and Otho's to prevent it. The latter finding their efforts ineffectual, put a quantity of torches well covered with brimstone and pitch into some boats, which were carried by the wind and current upon the enemy's work. First smoke, and afterwards a bright flame arose; upon which Cecina's men were so terrified that they leaped into the river, overset their boats, and were entirely exposed to their enemies, who laughed at their awkward distress.

The German troops, however, beat Otho's gladiators in a little island of the Po, and killed a considerable number of them. Otho's army that was in Bedriacum, resenting this affront, insisted on being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched his camp at the distance of fifty furlongs from Bedriacum. But he chose his ground in a very unskilful manner; for though it was in the spring season, and the country afforded many springs and rivulets, his army was distressed for water. Next day, Proculus was for marching against the enemy, who lay not less than a hundred furlongs off; but Paulinus would not agree to it. He said, they ought to keep the post they had taken, rather than fatigue themselves first, and then immediately engage an enemy, who could arm and put themselves in order of battle at their leisure, while they were making such a march with all the encumbrance of baggage and servants. The generals disputed the point, till a Numidian horseman came with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without

losing a moment's time. They then decamped of course, and went to seek the enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confusion; and immediately quitting his works and post upon the river, he repaired to the camp, where he found most of the soldiers armed, and the word already given by Valens.

During the time that the infantry were forming, the best of the cavalry were directed to skirmish. At that moment a report was spread, from what cause we cannot tell, amongst Otho's van, that Vitellius's officers were coming over to their party. As soon, therefore, as they approached, they saluted them in a friendly manner, calling them their fellow soldiers; but instead of receiving the appellation, they answered with a furious and hostile shout. The consequence was, that the persons who made the compliment were dispirited, and the rest suspected them of treason. This was the first thing that disconcerted Otho's troops, for by this time the enemy had charged. Besides, they could preserve no order; the intermixture of the baggage, and the nature of the ground, preventing any regular movement; for the ground was so full of ditches and other inequalities, that they were forced to break their ranks and wheel about to avoid them, and could only fight in small parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius's called *the devourer*, and one of Otho's called *the succourer*, which could disentangle themselves from the defiles and gain the open plain. These engaged in a regular battle, and fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they had not seen so much as one action before this; on the other hand, those of Vitellius had much experience in the field, but they were old, and their strength decaying.

Otho's legion coming on with great fury, mowed down the first ranks, and took the eagle. The enemy, filled with shame and resentment, advanced to chastise them, slew Orphidius, who commanded the legion, and took several standards. Against the gladiators, who had the reputation of being brave fellows, and excellent at close fighting, Alphenus Varus brought up the Batavians, who come from an island formed by the Rhine, and are the best cavalry

* It was debated in council, whether the emperor should be present in the action or not. Marius Celsus and Paulinus durst not vote for it, lest they should seem inclined to expose his person. He therefore retired to Brixillum, which was a circumstance that contributed not a little to his ruin.

in Germany. A few of the gladiators made head against them, but the greatest part fled to the river, and falling in with some of the enemy's infantry that was posted there, were all cut in pieces. But none behaved so ill that day as the prætorian bands; they did not even wait to receive the enemy's charge, and in their flight they broke through the troops that as yet stood their ground, and put them in disorder. Nevertheless, many of Otho's men were irresistible in the quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp; but Proculus and Paulinus took another way, for they dreaded the soldiers, who already blamed their generals for the loss of the day.

Annius Gallus received into the city all the scattered parties, and endeavoured to encourage them by assurances that the advantage upon the whole was equal, and that their troops had the superiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celsus assembled the principal officers, and desired them to consider of measures that might save their country. "After such an expense of Roman blood," said he, "Otho himself, if he has a patriotic principle, would not tempt fortune any more; since Cato and Scipio, in refusing to submit to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia, are accused of having unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of so many brave men in Africa, notwithstanding that they fought for the liberties of their country. Fortune, indeed, is capricious, and all men are liable to suffer by her inconstancy; yet good men have one advantage which she cannot deprive them of, and that is, to avail themselves of their reason in whatever may befall them." These arguments prevailed with the officers, and on sounding the private men they found them desirous of peace. Titianus himself was of opinion that they ought to send ambassadors to treat for a coalition. In pursuance of which, Celsus and Gallus were charged with a commission to Cecina and Valens. As they were upon the road, they met some centurions, who informed them that Vitellus's army was advancing to Bedriacum, and that they were sent before by their generals with proposals for an accommodation. Celsus and Gallus commended

their design, and desired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Celsus was in great danger; for the cavalry that were beaten in the affair of the ambuscade, happened to be in the van; and they no sooner saw Celsus, than they advanced with loud shouts against him. The centurions, however, put themselves before him, and the other officers called out to them to do him no violence. Cecina himself, when he was informed of the tumult, rode up and quelled it, and after he made his compliments to Celsus in a very obliging manner, accompanied him to Bedriacum.

In the meantime, Titianus repenting that he had sent the ambassadors, placed the most resolute of the soldiers again upon the walls, and exhorted the rest to be assisting; but when Cecina rode up and offered his hand, not a man of them could resist him. Some saluted his men from the walls, and others opened the gates; after which they went out and mixed with the troops that were coming up. Instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual caresses and other demonstrations of friendship; in consequence of which, they all took the oath to Vitellius, and ranged themselves under his banner.

This is the account which most of those that were in the battle give of it; but at the same time they confess that they did not know all the particulars, because of the confused manner in which they fought, and the inequality of the ground. Long after, when I was passing over the field of battle, Mestrius Florus, a person of consular dignity, showed me an old man, who in his youth had served under Otho, with others of the same age with himself, not from inclination, but by constraint.*

* From this passage Dacier would infer, that the life of Otho was not written by Plutarch. He says, a person who served a young man under Otho, could not be old at the time when Plutarch can be supposed to have visited that field of battle. His argument is this. That battle was fought in the year of Christ sixty-nine; Plutarch returned from Italy to Chæronea about the end of Domitian's reign, in the year of Christ ninety-three or ninety-four, and never left his native city any more. As this retreat of Plutarch's was only twenty-four or twenty-five years after the battle

He told me also, that on visiting the field, after the battle, he saw a large pile of dead bodies as high as the head of a man; and upon inquiring into the reason, he could neither discover it himself, nor get any information about it. It was no wonder that there was a great carnage in case of a general rout, because in a civil war they make no prisoners, for such captives would be of no advantage to the conquerors; but it is difficult to assign a reason why the carcasses should be piled up in that manner.

An uncertain rumour (as it commonly happens) was first brought to Otho, and afterwards some of the wounded came and assured him that the battle was lost. On this occasion it was nothing extraordinary that his friends strove to encourage him and keep him from desponding; but the attachment of the soldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or consulted his own safety, even when their chief despaired of his. On the contrary, they crowded his gates; they called him emperor; they left no form of application untried; they kissed his hands, they fell at his feet, and with groans and tears entreated him not to forsake them, nor give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the of Bedriacum, he concludes that a person who fought in that battle, a young man could not possibly be old when Plutarch made the tour of Italy; and therefore conjectures that this, as well as the life of Galba, must have been written by a son of Plutarch.

But we think no argument, in a matter of such importance, ought to be adduced from a passage manifestly corrupt; for instead of *οὐτα παλαιον*, we must either read *ενα οὐτα παλαιον*, or *ον δε παλαιον ενα*, to make either Greek or sense of it.

Lamprias, in the catalogue, ascribes these two lives to his father. Nor do we see such a dissimilarity to Plutarch's other writings, either in the style or manner, as warrants us to conclude that they are not of his hand.

Henry Stevens did not, indeed, take them into his edition, because he found them among the *opuscula*; and, as some of the *opuscula* were supposed to be spurious, he believed too hastily that these were of the number.

We think the loss of Plutarch's other lives of the emperors a real loss to the world, and should have been glad if they had come down to us, even in the same imperfect condition, as to the text, as those of Galba and Otho.

last moment of their lives. They all joined in this request; and one of the private men, drawing his sword, thus addressed himself to Otho: "Know, Caesar, what your soldiers are ready to do for you," and immediately plunged the steel into his heart.

Otho was not moved at this affecting scene, but, with a cheerful and steady countenance, looking round upon the company, he spoke as follows:—"This day, my fellow-soldiers, I consider as a more happy one than that on which you made me emperor, when I see you thus disposed, and am so great in your opinion. But deprive me not of a still greater happiness, that of laying down my life with honour for so many generous Romans. If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to shed my blood for my country. I know the victory my adversaries have gained is by no means decisive. I have intelligence that my army from Mysia is at the distance of but a few days march; Asia, Syria, and Egypt, are pouring their legions upon the Adriatic; the forces in Judea declare for us; the senate is with us; and the very wives and children of our enemies are so many pledges in our hands. But we are not fighting for Italy with Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbrians; our dispute is with the Romans; and whatever party prevails, whether we conquer, or are conquered, our country must suffer. Under the victor's joy she bleeds. Believe, then, my friends, that I can die with greater glory than reign; for I know no benefit that Rome can reap from my victory equal to what I shall confer upon her by sacrificing myself for peace and unanimity, and to prevent Italy from beholding such another day as this!"

After he had made this speech, and showed himself immovable to those who attempted to alter his resolution, he desired his friends and such senators as were present, to leave him, and provide for their own safety. To those that were absent he sent the same commands, and signified his pleasure to the cities by letters, that they should receive them honourably, and supply them with good convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius,* who was yet very young, and bade him

* Tacitus and Suetonius call him *Cocceianus*.

compose himself, and not fear Vitellius. "I have taken the same care," said he, "of his mother, his wife, and children, as if they had been my own. And for the same reason, I mean for your sake, I deferred the adoption which I intended you; for I thought proper to wait the issue of this war, that you might reign with me if I conquered, and not fall with me if I was overcome. The last thing, my son, I have to recommend to you is, neither entirely to forget, nor yet to remember too well, that you had an emperor for your uncle."

A moment after he heard a great noise and tumult at his gate. The soldiers seeing the senators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a step farther, or abandoned the emperor. Otho, in great concern for them, showed himself again at the door, but no longer with a mild and supplicating air; on the contrary, he cast such a stern and angry look upon the most turbulent part of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confusion.

In the evening he was thirsty, and drank a little water. Then he had two swords brought him, and having examined the points of both a long time, he sent away the one, and put the other under his arm. After this he called his servants, and with many expressions of kindness gave them money. Not that he chose to be lavish of what would soon be another's, for he gave to some more, and to some less, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a strict regard to propriety.

When he had dismissed them, he dedicated the remainder of the night to repose, and slept so sound that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The answer he brought was, that they were gone, and had been provided with everything they desired. Upon which he said, "Go you, then, and show yourself to the soldiers, that they may not imagine you have assisted me in despatching myself, and put you to some cruel death for it."

As soon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands, fell upon it with so much force.

that he expired with one groan. The servants who waited without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which was echoed through the camp and the city. The soldiers ran to the gates with the most pitiable wailings and most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for not guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him to provide for himself though the enemy was approaching. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral pile; after which they attended the procession in their armour, and happy was the man that could come to support his bier. Some kneeled and kissed his wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves on the ground, and adored him at a distance; nay, there were some who threw their torches upon the pile, and then slew themselves; not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceased, or were afraid of suffering under the hands of the conqueror, but it seems that no king or tyrant was ever so passionately fond of governing as they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did their affection cease with his death; it survived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and destruction of Vitellius. Of that we shall give an account in its proper place.

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which, neither by its size, nor by any pomp of epitaph, could excite the least envy. I have seen it at Brixillum; it was very modest, and the inscription only thus:—

To the Memory of MARCUS OTHO.

OTHO died at the age of thirty-seven, having reigned only three months. Those who find fault with his life are not more respectable, either for their numbers or for their rank, than those who applaud his death; for, though his life was not much better than that of Nero, yet his death was nobler.

The soldiers were extremely incensed against Pollio, one of the principal officers of the guards, for persuading them to take the oath immediately to

Vitellius; and being informed, that there were still some senators on the spot, they let the others pass, but solicited Virginius Rufus in a very troublesome manner. They went in arms to his house, and insisted that he should take the imperial title, or at least be their mediator with the conqueror; but he who had refused to accept that title from them when they were victorious, thought it would be the greatest mad-

ness to embrace it after they were beaten. And he was afraid of applying to the Germans in their behalf, because he had obliged that people to do many things contrary to their inclinations. He therefore went out privately at another door. When the soldiers found that he had left them, they took the oath to Vitellius, and having obtained their pardon, were enrolled among the troops of Cecina.

AN ACCOUNT OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES,

AND DENOMINATIONS OF MONEY,

MENTIONED BY PLUTARCH, FROM THE TABLES OF DOCTOR ARBUTHNOT.

WEIGHTS.

	lb.	oz.	p.wt.	gr.
The Roman libra or pound	00	10	18	13 ⁵ ₇
The Attic mina or pound	00	11	7	16 ² ₇
The Attic talent equal to sixty minæ	56	11	0	17 ⁷ ₈

DRY MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	peck.	gal.	pints.
The Roman modius	1	0	0 ³ ₈
The Attic chœnix, one pint, 15,705 ¹ ₈ solid inches	0	0	1 ¹ ₂ nearly
The Attic medimnus	4	0	6 ¹ ₁₀

LIQUID MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	pint.	solid inches.
The cotyle	¹ ₂	2,141 ¹ ₂
The cyathus	1 ¹ ₂	0,356 ¹ ₁₂
The chus	6	25,698

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Eng. paces	ft.	in.
The Roman foot	0	0	11 ¹ ₂
The Roman cubit	0	1	5 ³ ₈
The Roman pace	0	4	10
The Roman furlong	120	4	4
The Roman mile	967	0	0
The Grecian cubit	0	1	6 ¹ ₈
The Grecian furlong	100	4	4 ¹ ₂
The Grecian mile	805	5	0

N. B. In this computation, the English pace is five feet.

MONEY.

	£.	s.	d.	q.
The quadrans, about	0	0	0	0 ¹ ₂
The as	0	0	0	0 ³ ₁₆
The sestertius	0	0	1	3 ³ ₄
The sestertium equal to 1,000 sestertii	8	1	5	2
The denarius	0	0	7	3
The Attic obolus	0	0	1	1 ¹ ₈
The drachma	0	0	7	3
The mina = 100 drachmæ	3	4	7	0
The talent = 60 minæ	193	15	0	0
The stater-aureus of the Greeks weighing two Attic drachms ...	0	16	1	3
The stater-daricus	1	12	3	0
The Roman aureus was of different value at different periods. According to the proportion mentioned by Tacitus, when it exchanged for 25 denarii, it was of the same value as the Grecian stater.	0	16	1	3

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

FROM DACIER AND OTHER WRITERS.

Years of the World.	Years before the first Olympiad.		Years before the building of Rome.	Years before Christ.
2437	737	DEUCALION's deluge - - - - -	761	1511
2547	627	Minos I. son of Jupiter and Europa - - - - -	651	1401
2698	486	Minos II. grandson of the first - - - - -	500	1250
2720	454	THESEUS.—The expedition of the Argonauts. Theseus attended Jason in it.	473	1228
2768	406	Troy taken. Demophon the son of Theseus was at the siege	430	1180
2847	327	The return of the Heraclidæ to Peloponnesus - - - - -	351	1101
2830	294	The first war of the Athenians against Sparta - - - - -	318	1068
		Codrus devotes himself - - - - -		
2894	288	The Helots subdued by Agis - - - - -	304	1055
2908	266	The Ionic migration - - - - -	290	1040
3045	129	Lycurgus flourishes - - - - -	153	904
	Olympiads.			
3174	I.	THE FIRST OLYMPIAD.	25	774
			Yrs. of Rome.	
3198	vii. 1.	ROMULUS.—Rome built - - - - -		750
3201	vii. 4.	The rape of the Sabine virgins - - - - -	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The death of Romulus - - - - -	38	713
3236	xvi. 3.	NUMA.—Numa elected king - - - - -	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2.	Numa dies - - - - -	82	669
3350	xlvi. 1.	SOLON.—Solon flourishes - - - - -	153	598
3350		Cylon's conspiracy - - - - -		
3354	xlvi. 1.	Epimenides goes to Athens, and expiates the city. He dies soon after, at the age of 154. The seven wise men: Æsop and Anacharsis flourish.	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	Solon Archon - - - - -	159	592
3370	I. 1.	Croesus, king of Lydia - - - - -	173	578
		Pythagoras goes into Italy - - - - -		
		Pisistratus sets up his tyranny - - - - -		
3391	lv. 2.	Cyrus, king of Persia - - - - -	194	557
3401	lvii. 4.	Croesus taken - - - - -	204	547
3442	lxxviii. 1.	PUBLICOLA is chosen consul in the room of Collatinus Brutus fights Aruns, the eldest son of Tarquin. Both are killed.	245	506
3344	lxviii. 3.	Publicola consul the third time. His colleague Horatius Pulvillus dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus Horatius Coclès defends the Sublician bridge against the Tuscans.	247	504
3448	lxix. 3.	Publicola dies - - - - -	251	500
		Zeno Eleates flourished - - - - -		499
3459	lxxii. 1.	The battle of Marathon - - - - -	262	489
3461	lxxii. 2.	CORIOLANUS is banished, and retires to the Volsci - - - - -	263	488
3462	lxxiii. 1.	Herodotus is born - - - - -	265	486
3463	lxxiii. 2.	Coriolanus besieges Rome; but being prevailed upon by his mother to retire, is stoned to death by the Volsci.	266	485
3467	lxxiv. 2.	ARISTIDES is banished for ten years, but recalled at the expiration of three.	270	481
3470	lxxv. 1.	THEMISTOCLES.—The battle of Salamis - - - - -	273	478
3471	lxxv. 2.	The battle of Plataeæ - - - - -	274	477
3474	lxxvi. 1.	Thucydides is born - - - - -	277	474
3479	lxxvii. 2.	Themistocles is banished by the Ostracism - - - - -	282	469

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3480	lxxvii. 3.	CIMON beats the Persians both at sea and land - - - -	283	468
3481	lxxvii. 4.	Socrates is born. He lived 71 years - - - - -	284	467
3500	lxxxii. 3.	Cimon dies. Alcibiades born the same year. Herodotus and Thucydides flourish; the latter is twelve or thirteen years younger than the former. Pindar dies, eighty years old - - - - -	303	448
3519	lxxxvii. 2.	PERICLES stirs up the Peloponnesian war, which lasts 27 years. He was very young when the Romans sent the Decemviri to Athens for Solon's laws.	322	429
3521	lxxxvii. 4.	Pericles dies - - - - -	324	427
3522	lxxxviii. 1.	Plato born - - - - - Xerxes killed by Artabanus.	325	426
3535	xc. 2.	NICIAS.—The Athenians undertake the Sicilian war - -	338	413
3537	xc. 4.	Nicias beaten and put to death in Sicily - - - - -	340	411
3538	xcii. 1.	ALCIBIADES takes refuge at Sparta, and afterwards amongst the Persians.		
3539	xcii. 2.	Dionysius the elder, now tyrant of Sicily - - - - - Sophocles dies, aged 91 - - - - - Euripides dies, aged 75 - - - - -	342	409 407 406
3545	xciii. 4.	LYSANDER puts an end to the Peloponnesian war, and establishes the thirty tyrants at Athens Thrasylbulus expels them - - - - -	348	403 401
3546	xciv. 1.	Alcibiades put to death by order of Pharnabazus. - - -	349	402
3549	xciv. 4.	ARTAXERXES MNEMON overthrows his brother Cy- rus in a great battle. The retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, conducted by Xenophon.	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	Socrates dies - - - - -	353	398
3553	xcv. 4.	AGESILAUS ascends the Spartan throne - - - - -	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Lysander sent to the Hellespont - - - - -	357	394
3555	xcvi. 2.	Agesilaus defeats the Persian cavalry. Lysander dies -		
3561	xcvii. 4.	The Romans lose the battle of Allia - - - - -	364	387
3562	xcviii. 1.	CAMILLUS retires to Ardea - - - - -	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	Aristotle born - - - - -	369	382
3569	xcix. 4.	Demosthenes born - - - - -	372	379
3574	ci. 1.	Chabrias defeats the Lacedæmonians - - - - -	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians - - - The important battle of Leuctra.	382	369
3580	cii. 3.	PELOPIDAS, general of the Thebans. He headed the sacred band the year before at Leuctra, where Epaminon- das commanded in chief.	383	368
3582	ciii. 1.	Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Sicily, dies, and is succeeded by his son.	385	366
3584	ciii. 3.	Isocrates flourishes - - - - -	387	364
3585	ciii. 4.	TIMOLEON kills his brother Timophanes, who was set- ting himself up tyrant in Corinth.	388	363
3586	civ. 1.	Pelopidas defeats Alexander the tyrant of Phæræ, but falls in the battle.		
3587	civ. 2.	The famous battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas, though victorious, is killed by the son of Xenophon.	390	361
3588	civ. 3.	Camillus dies - - - - -	391	360
3589	civ. 4.	Artaxerxes dies. So does Agesilaus - - - - -	392	359
3593	cv. 4.	DION expels Dionysius the younger - - - - -	396	355
3594	cv. 1.	Alexander the Great born - - - - -	397	354
3596	cvi. 3.	Dion is killed by Calippus - - - - -	399	352
3598	cvii. 1.	DEMOSTHENES begins to thunder against Philip - Xenophon dies, aged 90.	401	350

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3602	cviii. 1.	Plato dies, aged 80 or 81 - - - - -	405	346
3605	cviii. 4.	Timoleon sent to assist the Syracusans - - - - -	408	343
3607	cix. 2.	Dionysius the younger sent off to Corinth - - - - -	410	341
3609	cix. 4.	Epicurus born - - - - -	412	339
3612	cx. 3.	The battle of Chæronea, in which Philip beats the Athenians and Thebans. - - - - -	415	336
3613	cx. 4.	Timoleon dies - - - - -	416	335
3614	cx. 1.	ALEXANDER THE GREAT is declared general of all Greece against the Persians, upon the death of his father Philip. - - - - -	417	334
3616	cx. 3.	The battle of the Granicus - - - - -	419	332
3619	cxii. 2.	The battle of Arbela - - - - -	422	325
3623	cxiii. 2.	Porus beaten - - - - -	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	Alexander dies, aged 33 - - - - -	430	321
		Diogenes dies, aged 90. - - - - -		
		Aristotle dies, aged 63 - - - - -		319
3632	cxv. 3.	PHOCION retires to Polyperchon, but is delivered up by him to the Athenians, who put him to death. - - - - -	435	316
3634	cxvi. 1.	EUMENES, who had attained to a considerable rank amongst the successors of Alexander the Great, is betrayed to Antigonus, and put to death. - - - - -	437	314
3636	cxvi. 4.	DEMETRIUS, surnamed Poliocertes, permitted by his father Antigonus to command the army in Syria, when only twenty-two years of age. He restores the Athenians to their liberty, but they choose to remain in the worst of chains, those of servility and meanness. - - - - -	439	312
3643	cxviii. 2.	Dionysius, the tyrant, dies at Heraclea, aged 55. In the year before Christ 288, died Theophrastus, aged 85. And in the year before Christ 285, Theocritus flourished. - - - - -	446	305
3670	cxv. 1.	PYRRHUS, King of Epirus, passes over into Italy, where he is defeated by Lævinus. - - - - -	473	272
3685	cxviii. 4.	The first Punic war, which lasted 24 years - - - - -	488	263
3696	cxv. 3.	Philopœmen born - - - - -	499	252
3699	cxv. 1.	ARATUS, of Sicyon, delivered his native city from the tyranny of Niccles. - - - - -	502	249
3723	cxviii. 2.	AGIS and CLEOMENES, cotemporaries with Aratus, for Aratus being beaten by Cleomenes, calls in Antigonus from Macedonia, which proves the ruin of Greece. - - - - -	526	225
3727	cxv. 2.	PHILOPÆMEN thirty years old when Cleomenes took Megalopolis. About this time lived Hannibal, Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, and Scipio Africanus. - - - - -	530	221
3731	cx. 2.	The second Punic war, which lasted eighteen years - - - - -	534	217
3733	cx. 4.	Hannibal beats the consul Flaminius at the Thrasymenean lake; - - - - -	536	215
3734	cx. 1.	And the consuls Varro and Æmilius at Cannæ - - - - -	537	214
3736	cx. 3.	He is beaten by Marcellus at Nola - - - - -	539	212
3738	cx. 1.	Marcellus takes Syracuse - - - - -	541	210
3741	cx. 4.	Fabius Maximus seizes Tarentum - - - - -	544	207
3747	cx. 2.	Fabius Maximus dies - - - - -	550	201
3749	cx. 4.	Scipio triumphs for his conquests in Africa - - - - -	552	199
3752	cx. 3.	TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS elected consul at the age of 30. - - - - -	555	196
		CATO THE CENSOR was 21 or 22 years old when Fabius Maximus took Tarentum. See above. - - - - -		
3754	cx. 1.	All Greece restored to her liberty, by T. Q. Flaminius - - - - -	557	194
		Flaminius triumphs; Demetrius the son of Philip, and Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, follow his chariot. - - - - -		

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3755	cxlvii. 2.	Cato triumphs for his conquests in Spain	558	193
3766	cxlix. 1.	Scipio Africanus dies	569	182
3767	cxlix. 2.	Philopemen dies	570	181
		The same year, PAULUS ÆMILIUS, then first consul, was beaten by Hannibal at Cannæ:		
3782	cliii. 1.	When consul the second time, he conquered Perseus, and brought him in chains to Rome. Now Terence flourished.	585	166
3790	clv. 1.	Paulus Æmilius dies	593	158
3794	clvi. 1.	Marius born	597	154
3801	clvii. 4.	The third Punic war, which continued four years	604	147
		Cato the Censor dies.		
3804	clviii. 3.	Scipio Æmilianus destroys Carthage; and Mummius sacks and burns Corinth.	607	144
		Carneades dies, aged 85		129
		Polybius dies, aged 81		123
3827	clxiv. 2.	TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHUS.—The laws of Caius Gracchus.	630	121
3843	clxvii. 2.	MARIUS.—Marches against Jugurtha	646	103
		Cicero born.		
3844	clxviii. 3.	Pompey born	647	104
3846	clxix. 1.	Marius, now consul the second time, marches against the Cimbri.	649	102
3850	clxxi. 2.	Julius Cæsar is born in the sixth consulship of Marius	653	98
		Lucretius born		94
3855	clxxi. 2.	SYLLA, after his prætorship, sent into Cappadocia	658	93
3862	clxxiii. 1.	Makes himself master of Rome	665	86
3868	clxxiii. 2.	Takes Athens	666	85
		Marius dies the same year.		
3867	clxxiv. 2.	SERTORIUS sent into Spain	670	81
3868	clxxiv. 3.	The younger Marius beaten by Sylla; yet soon after he de- feats Pontius Telesinus at the gates of Rome. Sylla enters the city, and being created dictator, exercises all manner of cruelties.	671	80
		CRASSUS enriches himself with buying the estates of per- sons proscribed.		
3869	clxxiv. 4.	POMPEY, at the age of 25, is sent into Africa against Do- mitius, and beats him.	672	79
		CATO of Utica was younger than Pompey, for he was but 14 years old when Sylla's proscriptions were in their utmost rage.		
3870	clxxv. 1.	CICERO defends Roscius against the practices of Sylla. This was his first public pleading. After this he retires to Athens, to finish his studies.	673	78
3871	clxxv. 2.	Sylla, after having destroyed above 100,000 Roman citizens, proscribed 90 senators, and 2,600 knights, resigns his dictatorship, and dies the year following.	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	Pompey manages the war in Spain against Sertorius	677	74
3877	clxxvi. 4.	LUCULLUS, after his consulship, is sent against Mithri- dates.	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	Sertorius assassinated in Spain. Crassus consul with Pompey	682	69
3881	clxxvii. 4.	Tigranes conquered by Lucullus	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	Mithridates dies. Pompey forces the temple of Jerusalem Augustus Cæsar born	690	61

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3891	clxxx. 2.	JULIUS CÆSAR appointed consul with Bibulus, obtains Illyria, and the two Gauls, with four legions. He marries his daughter, Julia, to Pompey.	690	61
3897	clxxxi. 4.	Crassus is taken by the Parthians, and slain - - - - -	700	51
3902	clxxxiii. 1.	Cæsar defeats Pompey at Pharsalia - - - - - Pompey flies into Egypt, and is assassinated there	705	46
3903	clxxxiii. 2.	Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria, and subdues Egypt; after which he marches into Syria, and soon reduces Pharnaces.	706	45
3904	clxxxiii. 3.	He conquers Juba, Scipio, and Petreius, in Africa, and leads up four triumphs. Previous to which, Cato kills himself.	707	44
3905	clxxxiii. 4.	Cæsar defeats the sons of Pompey at Munda. Cneius falls in the action, and Sextus flies into Sicily. Cæsar triumphs the fifth time.	708	43
3906	clxxxiv. 1.	BRUTUS. Cæsar is killed by Brutus and Cassius - - -	709	42
3907	clxxxiv. 2.	Brutus passes into Macedonia - - - - -	710	41
		MARK ANTONY beaten the same year by Augustus at Modena. He retires to Lepidus. The triumvirate of Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony, who divide the empire amongst them.		
3908	clxxxiv. 3.	The battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius being overthrown by Augustus and Antony, lay violent hands on themselves.	711	40
3909	clxxxiv. 4.	Antony leagues with Sextus, the son of Pompey, against Augustus.	712	39
3910	clxxxv. 1.	Augustus and Antony renew their friendship after the death of Fulvia, and Antony marries Octavia.	713	38
3918	clxxxvii. 1.	Augustus and Antony again embroiled - - - - -	721	30
3919	clxxxvii. 3.	The battle of Actium. Antony is beaten, and flies into Egypt with Cleopatra.	722	29
3920	clxxxvii. 4.	Augustus makes himself master of Alexandria. Antony and Cleopatra destroy themselves.	723	28
		GALBA born.		Era of the Incar- nation
3947	cxciv. 2.	Otho born - - - - -	750	
3981	ccii. 4.	Galba appointed consul - - - - -	784	
3982	cciii. 1.	The revolt of Vindex - - - - -	785	
4018	ccxi. 4.	Nero killed, and Galba declared emperor - - - - -	820	
4019	ccxii. 1.	OTHO revolts, and persuades the soldiers to despatch Galba; upon which he is proclaimed emperor; and three months after, being defeated by Vitellius, despatches himself.	821	71

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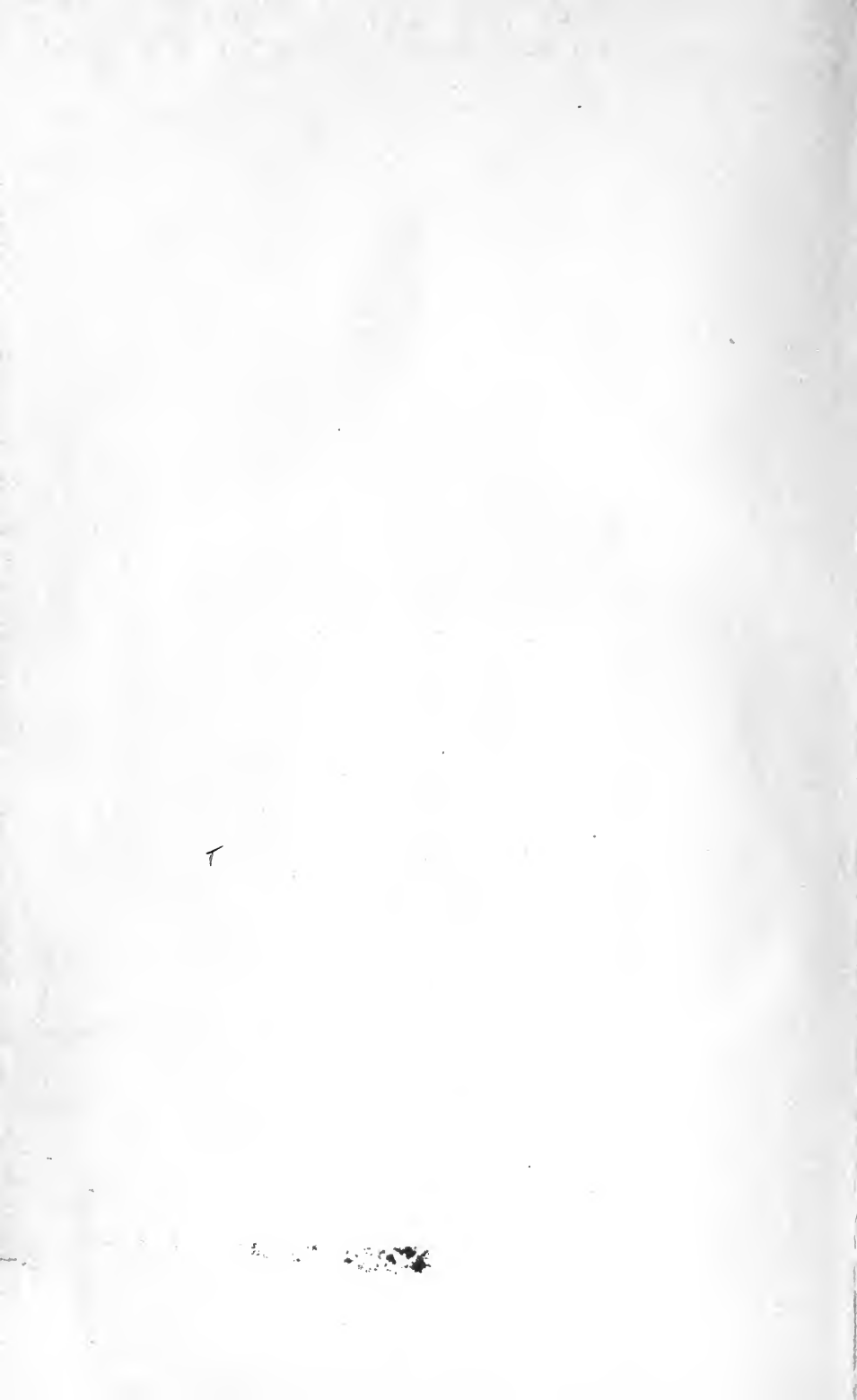
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